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The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

In Twelve Volumes

Volume X

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MACMILLAN AND CO. LTD.	LONDON
THE MACMILLAN CO.	NEW YORK
SIMPKIN, HAMILTON AND CO.	LONDON
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SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

The Principal
Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries
of the English Nation

Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 Yeeres

By
RICHARD HAKLUYT
Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford

VOLUME X

Glasgow
James MacLehose and Sons
Publishers to the University
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ACCESSION NO.
3850
BOOK NO.
910.8

910.9
19208

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Sir Francis Drake, ... *Frontispiece*

Sir Francis Drake, son of Edmund Drake, sailor and afterwards Vicar of Upchurch, was born at Crowndale, near Tavistock about 1545, but the exact date is uncertain. He was apprenticed when young to the master of a Channel coaster, and his master, dying childless, left the vessel to him. He seems to have followed this trade for a short time, but in 1565-6 went on some voyages to Guinea and the Spanish Main with Captain Lovell. In 1567 he commanded the 'Judith' of 50 tons in Sir John Hawkins' voyage to the West Indies, and barely escaped in the fight at San Juan de Ulloa. Immediately on his return to England, Drake was sent to London to 'inform Sir William Cecil of all the proceedings of the expedition.' In 1570 he went on a voyage to the West Indies with two ships, the 'Dragon' and the 'Swan,' and in 1571 with the 'Swan' alone, 'to gain such intelligences as might further him to get some amends for his loss' at San Juan de Ulloa. 'And having in those two voyages gotten such certain notice of the persons and places aimed at as he thought requisite' he resolved on a third voyage. He sailed from Plymouth on 24th May 1572 with two small ships, the 'Pasha' and 'Swan,' carrying seventy three men, and three 'dainty' pinnaces 'all in pieces and stowed aboard to be set up again as occasion served' with intent to land at Nombre de Dios.

On 29th July they landed at Nombre de Dios and after a sharp fight captured the town. Drake however was severely wounded, and his men forcibly removed him to the boats. After burning Porto Bello, Drake with eighteen men and a few Maroons marched across the Isthmus towards Panama. It was on this march that Drake, climbing a tree pointed out by his guides, first saw the Pacific, and 'besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship on that sea.' After sacking Venta Cruz and acquiring much treasure, he sailed homeward and arrived in Plymouth on Sunday, 9th August 1573, in church hours, when 'the news of Drake's return did so speedily pass over all the church and surpass their minds with delight and desire to see him that very few or none remained with the preacher.' From 1573 to 1576 Drake saw service in Ireland. On 13th December 1577 he sailed in the 'Pelican' on his voyage of circum-navigation, a detailed account of which is given in Volume XI. On 26th September 1580 he arrived home 'very richly fraught with gold, silver, silk, pearls and precious stones.' On 4th April 1581 he was knighted by the Queen on the deck of the 'Golden Hind' (as the 'Pelican' had been re-christened on entering Magellan Straits). In 1582 Drake was Mayor of Plymouth. In the Parliament of 1584-5 he sat as member for Bossiney, and was one of the Committee on the bill for supplying Plymouth with water. On 14th September 1585 he sailed from Plymouth on the expedition to the West Indies, the account of which is given at page 97. Shortly after his return home in July 1586 Drake was placed in charge of the shipping at Plymouth. In November 1586 he was sent on a mission to the Netherlands. On 2nd April 1587 he sailed for Spain commissioned 'to impeach the joining together of the King of Spain's fleet out of their several ports.' On the

19th April he attacked Cadiz, sank or burnt thirty-three vessels and carried away four (see his despatch given in Volume VI., page 440 of this edition). He next captured the Castle of Sagres and held Cape St. Vincent, and then making for the Azores he captured a great Portuguese Carrack and returned to England in the end of June. On the 12th July 1588 the English fleet put out to search for the Spanish Armada, Drake being Vice-Admiral under Lord Howard of Effingham, but a summer gale drove them back to Plymouth. On the 19th of July the Armada was sighted, and from that day to the 2nd of August the fight with and pursuit of the Armada was continued. On 18th April 1589 Drake put to sea in command of an expedition to invade Spain and Portugal, with Sir John Norreys in command of the land forces. The account of this expedition is given by Hakluyt (Volume VI., page 470). From December 1590 to April 1591 Drake was engaged in bringing the river Meavy to Plymouth for the water supply of the town: when this was done he set about building six corn-mills. In 1593 he represented Plymouth in Parliament. During the winter of 1594 and spring of 1595 Drake was preparing for what proved to be his last expedition to the West Indies. On the 28th August the Expedition sailed, with Sir John Hawkins as Vice-Admiral. It was however a failure. News of its approach had reached the West Indies, and everywhere preparations had been made to receive it. Hawkins died off Porto Rico on the 11th November: the same evening a shot from one of the batteries 'strake the stoole from under' Drake as he sat at supper 'but hurt him not,' though it killed Sir Nicholas Clifford, the Commander of the land forces. On the 15th January 1596 off Nombre de Dios Drake 'began to keepe his cabin and to complain of a scowring or fluxe,' and on the 28th he died. He was buried a league from shore in a leaden coffin.

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'For a last and fitting honour to the dead, two vessels of his own fleet and all his last taken prizes were sunk near where he lay, while ashore the fort which the Spaniards had just completed was given to the flames.' (Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, Vol. II., p. 430.) The portrait here reproduced is taken from that in a copy in the British Museum of the Dutch Chart published by Judocus Hondius about 1595.)

Plan of Santiago, ... 112

Reproduced from the original in *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage* in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. The plan shows the English fleet at anchor before the town; Drake's ship, the 'Elizabeth Bonaventure' of 600 tons, distinguishable by the admiral's flag, the Cross of St. George, flown on the main mast, is shown in the foreground.

A Spanish Treasure Frigate, ... 160

The Spanish Treasure Frigates were specially designed by Pero Menendez Marquez to carry treasure from the West Indies to Spain. 'They are very bigge and excellent of sayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with souldiers and mariners. And having good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend us. For wee shall both leave and take at all times when we list' (p. 158). The Frigate here represented is '104 foote by the keele' and '34 foote in bredth' on the main deck. Her armament consisted of culverins (18-pounders) on the main deck, demi-culverins (9-pounders) on the upper deck, and falcons (3-pounders) on the spar deck. Forward on a platform on the main deck was 'a place of muskett defence for their musketers to plaie notwithstanding their great ordnance' —an extremely uncomfortable position, one would

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think, in a heavy sea. The legend aft reads: 'The armes of St. Diago a special note to know them.' The drawing, first reproduced by Mr. Julian Corbett in his *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, Volume II., p. 366, is taken from the original (sent home by an English spy) in the Record office.

The Rich Mines of Potosi, ... 172

Reproduced from a copy of *The Discoverie and Conquest of the Provinces of Peru, and the Navigation in the South Sea, along that Coast, and also of the ritche Mines of Potosi. Imprinted at London by Richard Jhones. Febru. 6. 1581.*, in the Hunterian Library in the University of Glasgow.

Sir Robert Dudley, ... 208

Sir Robert Dudley, the son of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and Lady Sheffield, was born on August 7th 1574, at Sheen House in Surrey. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in May 1588. He states that he held a colonelcy in the army assembled at Tilbury under command of his father in the same year. In 1594 he started on his expedition to Trinidad and Guiana, his first intention—to take an expedition into the South Seas—having been forbidden by the Queen. Besides the account of this voyage printed by Hakluyt (p. 203) two other accounts have been preserved, one by Captain Wyatt who commanded Dudley's 'main battle of pike,' and one by Abraham Kendall, his sailing master. (*Warner's Voyage of Sir Robert Dudley to the West Indies*, Hakluyt Society, 1899.) In 1596 Dudley commanded the 'Nonpareil' in the Cadiz expedition under Essex and Nottingham, and was knighted at Plymouth on the return of the expedition. In 1603 he began the lawsuit to prove his legitimacy, but the judgment given on May 10th 1605 went against him. In the same year he obtained a license

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to travel abroad for three years, and left England accompanied by his cousin, Elizabeth Southwell, disguised as his page, whom he afterwards married. They went to Florence, and Dudley entered into the service of the Grand Duke Ferdinand I. for whom he designed and constructed several warships. In 1646 when he was seventy-two he published his great work *Dell'Arcano del Mare*. He died at Carbello in 1649. Anthony à Wood says of him: 'This Robert Dudley was a compleat gentleman in all suitable employments, an exact seaman, a good navigator, an excellent architect, mathematician, physician, chymist, and what not. He was a handsome, personable man, tall of stature, red-hair'd and of admirable comport, and above all, noted for riding the great horse, for tilting, and for his being the first of all that taught a dog to sit in order to catch partridges.' The portrait is taken from a proof engraving, in the British Museum, of a copy by G. P. Harding of the original miniature portrait by Nicholas Hilliard.

Sir Anthony Sherley, ... 272

Sir Anthony Sherley was born in 1565. He graduated B.A. at Oxford in 1581, and was elected probationer-fellow of All Souls College. He took part in the wars in the Low Countries under the Earl of Leicester in 1586 and was present at Zutphen. In August 1591 he joined the Earl of Essex in his expedition to Normandy in support of Henry of Navarre. Henry made him a Knight of the Order of St. Michael, whereupon Queen Elizabeth imprisoned him for accepting the honour without her permission. He was released on retiring from the Order. He married Frances Vernon, first cousin of the Earl of Essex, but the marriage proved unhappy, and to distract his thoughts from his home life he organised his expedition to the West Indies.

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He accompanied the Earl of Essex on his 'Islands' voyage of 1597. In 1598-9, on Essex's invitation, he led a company of English volunteers to Ferara to assist Don Cesare d'Este. The dispute was settled by the time he arrived there, and he received instructions from Essex to proceed to Persia to obtain an alliance with the Shah against the Turks, and to promote commercial intercourse. The enterprise was not officially sanctioned, and Sherley was refused permission to return to England. He had a kindly reception from the Shah Abbas the Great, and after five months' stay returned to Europe as the Shah's envoy in 1599. His appeal for permission to return to England was refused, and he then went to Venice and opened correspondence with Spain. In April 1603 he was imprisoned for debt in an island near Scio. In 1605 he went to Prague and was employed by Rudolph II. on a mission to Morocco. On his way back he went to Madrid, and was commissioned as general of a fleet to attack the Turks and the Moors in the Levant and to hamper Dutch trade. In 1609 his expedition sailed, but it was a complete failure, and he was dismissed and dishonoured on his return. The King of Spain in 1611 allowed him a small pension, and he remained at Madrid in beggary until his death. The portrait is taken by permission of the Earl of Crawford from a copy, in the Library at Haigh Hall, Wigan, of the *Atrium Heroicum Caesarum Regum Aliarumque Summatum ac Procerum* by Dominicus Custos, printed at Augsburg in 1600.

Capture of Don Antonio de Berreo, . . . 352

This engraving of the capture of Don Antonio de Berreo, Governor of Trinidad, by Sir Walter Ralegh, is reproduced from De Bry's *Collections of Travels and Voyages, Grands (America) Voyages*, Part VIII., Frankfort, 1599.

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Map of Guiana by Sir Walter Ralegh, . . 384

This map is reproduced from the original in the Manuscript Room in the British Museum. No doubt is now entertained that the map is the work of Sir Walter Ralegh himself and is in his handwriting. The fabled Lake and City of Manoa is shown in the centre of the map, with El Dorado slightly to the left. It is to be noted that for convenience of reference the map has been reproduced upside down, the northern coast of Guiana and the Atlantic Ocean being at the bottom of the map as here given.

Map of Drake's West Indian Expedition, 1585-6, . 502

This map 'newlie come forth by Baptista B.' serves to illustrate Drake's West Indian Expedition of 1585-6, 'the whole course of the saide viadge beinge plainlie described by the pricked line.' The 'summarie and true discourse' of the expedition by Master Thomas Cotes will be found at page 97. The map is reproduced from the original in *A Summarie and True Discourse* cited above.

THE TENTH VOLUME

OF THE

Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation

Made to all the Isles called Las Antillas and along the coasts of Tierra Firma, and certeine voyages made for the discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana, with the discourses and letters pending upon the voyages of this tenth volume

The Principal Voyages of the English Nation [III. 498.]
to the Isles of Trinidad, Margarita, Dominica, Deseada, Monserrate, Guadalupe, Martinino, and all the rest of the Antilles; As likewise to S. Juan de Puerto Rico, to Hispaniola, Jamaica and Cuba: and also to Tierra Firma, and all along the coast and Islands therof, even from Cumana and the Caracos to the neckland of Dariene, and over it to the Gulfe of S. Michael and the Isle of Perles in the South sea: and further to Cabeça Cativa, Nombre de dios, and Venta de cruzes, to Puerto Belo, Rio de Chagre, and the Isle of Escudo, along the maine of Beragua, to the Cape and Gulfe of the Honduras, to Truxillo, Puerto de Cavallos, and all other the principall Townes, Islands and harbours of accompt within the said Gulfe, and up Rio dolce falling into this Gulfe, above 30. leagues: As also to the Isle of Coçumel, and to Cape Cotoche, the towne of Campeche, and other places upon the land of Iucatan; and lower downe to S. Juan de Ullua, Vera Cruz, Rio de Panuco, Rio de Palmas, &c. within the Bay of Mexico: and from thence to the Isles of the Tortugas, the port of Havana, the Cape of Florida, and the Gulfe of Bahama homewards. With the taking, sacking, ransoming, or burning

of most of the principall Cities and townes upon the coasts of Tierra firma, Nueva Espanna, and all the foresaid Islands; since the most traiterous burning of her Majesties ship the Jesus of Lubec and murthering of her Subjects in the port of S. Juan de Ullua, and the last generall arrest of her Highnesse people, with their ships and goods throughout all the dominions of the King of Spaine in the moneth of June 1585. Besides the manifold and tyrannicall oppressions of the Inquisition inflicted on our nation upon most light and frivolous occasions.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Pert, and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, which was the yere 1516. to Brasil, Santo Domingo, and S. Juan de Puerto rico.

That learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epistle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553, called A treatise of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discoverie undertaken out of England by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the overthrow thereof unto the cowardise and want of stomack of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saith he, (like unto that which hath bene seene & proved in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this our countrey) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our

soveraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes under the governance of Sebastian Cabot yet living and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage tooke none effect; if, I say, such manly courage, whereof wee have spoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily have come to passe, that that rich treasurie called Perularia, (which is nowe in Spaine in the citie of Sivill, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfoundland of Peru) might long since have beene in the tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambassadour sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whose wordes bee these. Now rest to be discovered the North parts, the which it seemeth unto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you have taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leave so great and [III. 499.] profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so litle cost, labour and danger be followed and obteined. Though hitherto your grace have made *Note.* thereof a proofe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shalbe none impediment: for there may be now provided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets remooved, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is, the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and provision, an order may be devised and taken meete and convenient, much better then hitherto: by reason whereof, & by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. And whereas

This sir Tho. Pert was Vice-admirall of England, and dwelt in Poplar at Blackwall.

in the aforesayd wordes M. Robert Thorne sayth, that he would have the old courses to bee changed, and the newe courses (to the North) to be followed: It may plainely be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twise or thrise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set foorth by the king, was made towarde Brasill and the South parts. Moreover it seemeth that Gonsalvo de Oviedo, a famous Spanish writer, alludeth unto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius. Nel 1517. Un Corsaro Inglese, sotto colore di venire á discoprire se ne venne con una gran nave alla volta del Brasil nella costiera di Terra ferma, & indi attraverso á questa isola Spagnuola, & giunse presso la bocca del porto di questa città di S. Domenico, & mandò in terra il suo battello pieno di gente, & chiese licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negotiare. Ma in quello instante il castellano Francesco di Tapia fece tirare alla nave un tiro d'artiglieria da questo castello, perche ella se ne veniva diritta al porto. Quando gli Inglesi viddero questo si ritirarono fuori, & quelli del battello tosto si raccolsero in nave. Et nel vero il Castellan fece errore: perche se ben fosse nave entrata nel porto, non sarebbono le genti potuto smontare à terra senza volontà & della città & del castello. La nave adunque veggendo come vi era ricevuta, tirò la volta dell' isola di San Giovanni, & entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Inglesi con quelli della terra, & dimandarono vettouaglie & fornimenti per la nave, & si lamentarono di quelli di questa città, dicendo che essi non venivano per fare dispiacere, ma per contrattare,

An English great shippe at Brasill 1517.

San Juan de puerto Rico.

& negotiare con suoi danari & mercantie. Hora quivi hebbero alcune vettovaglie, & in compensa essi diedero & pagarono in certi stagni lavorati & altre cose. Et poi si partirono alla volta d'Europa, dove si crede, che non gungessero, perche non se ne seppe piu nuova mai. This extract importeth thus much in English, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an English Rover under the colour of travelling to discover, came with a great shippe unto the parts of Brasill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed over unto this Iland of Hispaniola, and arrived neere unto the mouth of the haven of this citie of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leave to enter into this haven, saying that hee came with marchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the governour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the haven. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselves out, and those that were in the shipboate, got themselves with all speede on shipboord. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an oversight: for if the shippe had entred into the haven the men thereof could not have come on lande without leave both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were received, sayled toward the Iland of S. John, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gave and paid them with certain vessell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arrived not: for wee never heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsalvo

de Oviedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rover, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that they came to discover, and by their traffique for pewter vessell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. John de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoever is conversant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rovers and theeves, which visite any heathen coast that they have once sayled by or looked on. Howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee prejudiciall to other mens chargeable and painefull enterprises and honourable travels in discoverie.

[III. 500.] A briefe note concerning a voyage of one Thomas Tison an English man, made before the yeere 1526. to the West Indies, & of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which under hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder, a worshipfull marchant of Bristol.

IT appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by master Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Bristol, unto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his servant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the sayd yeere one Thomas Tison an Englishman had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident: unto whom the aforesayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd. This Thomas Tison (so farre as I can conjecture) may

seeme to have bene some secret factour for M. Thorne and other English marchants in those remote partes; whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies even in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the Spaniards should debarre us from it at this present.

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight sir John Hawkins, sometimes treasurer of her Majesties navie Roial, made to the West Indies 1562.

Aster John Haukins having made divers voyages to the Iles of the Canaries, and there by his good and upright dealing being growen in love and favour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof hee had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the advertisments and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured, that Negros were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negros might easily bee had upon the coast of Guinea, resolved with himselfe to make triall thereof, and communicated that devise with his worshipfull friendes of London: namely with Sir Lionell Ducket, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunson his father in law, sir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberall contributers and adventurers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediatly provided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himselfe went as Generall: The second the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went for Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: and the third the Jonas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Master supplied the Captaines

M. Thomas Hampton.

roome: in which small fleete M. Hawkins tooke with him not above 100. men for feare of sicknesse and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.

With this companie he put off and departed from the coast of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his course touched first at Teneriffe, where hee received friendly intertainement. From thence he passed to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea, which place by the people of the countrey is called Tagarin, where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sworde, and partly by other meanes, to the number of 300. Negros at the least, besides other merchandises which that countrey yeeldeth. With this praye hee sayled over the Ocean sea unto the Iland of Hispaniola, and arrived first at the port of Isabella: and there hee had reasonable utterance of his English commodities, as also of some part of his Negros, trusting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne strength he was able still to master them. From the port of Isabella he went to Puerto de Plata, where he made like sales, standing alwaies upon his guard: from thence also hee sayled to Monte Christi another port on the North side of Hispaniola, and the last place of his touching, where he had peaceable traffique, and made vent of the whole number of his Negros: for which he received in those 3. places by way of exchange such quantitie of merchandise, that hee did not onely lade his owne 3. shippes with hides, ginger, sugars, and some quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted also two other hulkes with hides and other like commodities, which hee sent into Spaine. And thus leaving the Iland, he returned and disemboqued, passing out by the Ilands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his first voyage to the West India. And so with prosperous successe and much gaine to himselfe and the aforesayde adventurers, he came home, and arrived in the moneth of September 1563.

Sierra Leona called Tagarin.

The Iles of Caycos.

The voyage made by M. John Hawkins Esquire, and afterward knight, Captaine of the Jesus of Lubek, one of her Majesties shippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and other two barkes going in his companie, to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of Nova Hispania, begun in An. Dom. 1564. [III. 501.]

Aster John Hawkins with the Jesus of Lubek, a shippe of 700. and the Salomon a shippe of 140. the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallow of 30. tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundreth threescore and tenne, as also with ordinance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymmouth the 18. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1564. *October* 18. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marveilous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the shippe, who by the pullie of the sheat was slaine out of hand, being a sorowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out ten leagues to the sea, he met the same day with the Minion a ship of the Queenes Majestie, whereof was Captaine David Carlet, and also her consort the John Baptist of London, being bounde to Guinea also, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea with certaine pieces of ordinance for joy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to seeke her other consort the Merlin of London, which was a sterne out of sight, leaving in M. Hawkins companie the John Baptist her other consort.

The Minion, the John Baptist, and the Merline bound for Guinea.

Thus sayling forwards on their way with a prosperous winde untill the 21. of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the winde being at Northeast about nine a clocke in the night, and continued so 23. houres together, in which storme M. Hawkins lost the companie

of the John Baptist aforesayd, and of his pinnesse called the Swallow, his other 3. shippes being sore beaten with a storme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no small rejoycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finister, he having put roomer, not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary winde at Southwest. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, hee put into a place in Galicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained five dayes, and appointed all the Masters of his shippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The small shippes to bee alwayes ahead and aweather of the Jesus, and to speake twise a day with the Jesus at least: if in the day the Ensigne bee over the poope of the Jesus, or in the night two lights, then shall all the shippes speake with her: If there bee three lights aboord the Jesus, then doeth she cast about: If the weather bee extreme, that the small shippes cannot keepe companie with the Jesus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and foorthwith to repaire to the Iland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the road of Sirroes; If any happen to any misfortune then to shew two lights, and to shoote off a piece of ordinance. If any lose companie, and come in sight againe, to make three yawes, and strike the Myson three times: Serve God daily, love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

Good orders for a fleete in a long voyage.

The 26. day the Minion came in also where hee was, for the rejoycing whereof hee gave them certaine pieces of ordinance, after the courtesie of the sea for their welcome: but the Minions men had no mirth, because of their consort the Merline, whome at their departure from Master Hawkins upon the coast of England they went to seeke, and having met with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast strooke out her poope, and therewithall lost three men, besides many sore burned (which escaped by the brigan-

A dreadfull mischance by fire.

dine being at her sterne) and immediatly, to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sunke before their eyes.

The 20. day of the moneth M. Hawkins with his consorts and companie of the Minion, having nowe both the brigandines at her sterne, wayed anker, and set saile on their voyage, having a prosperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of November they had sight of the Iland of Madera, and the sixt day of Teneriffe, which they thought to have beene the Canarie, in that they supposed themselves to have beene to the Eastward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Minion being three or foure leagues ahead of us, kept on her course to Teneriffe, having better sight thereof then the other had, and by that meanes they parted companie. For M. Hawkins and his companie went more to the West, upon which course having sayled a while, hee espied another Iland, which hee thought to bee Teneriffe, and being not able by meanes of the fogge upon the hils, to discerne the same, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer untill the morning, being the seventh of November, which as yet hee could not discerne, but sayled along the coast the [III. 502.] space of two houres, to perceive some certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelyhood thereof at all, accompting that to bee, as it was in deede, the Ile of *The Ile of Palmes.* Palmes: and so sayling forwards, espied another Iland *Gomera and Teneriffe.* called Gomera, and also Teneriffe, with the which hee made, and sayling all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinnesse which had departed from him the sixt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and espying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arrivall somewhat before hee came to anker, hee hoysed out his shippes pinnesse rowing a shoare, intending to have sent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the governours of the Iland, who dwelt a league from the shoare: but as hee pretended to have landed, suddenly there appeared upon the two points of the roade, men levelling of bases

and harguebuzes to them, with divers others to the number of fourescore, with halberds, pikes, swordes and targets, which happened so contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him, and the more, because hee was nowe in their danger, not knowing well howe to avoyde it without some mischiefe. Wherefore hee determined to call to them for the better appeasing of the matter, declaring his name, and professing himselfe to bee an especiall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had sundry things for him which he greatly desired. And in the meane time, while hee was thus talking with them, whereby hee made them to holde their hands, hee willed the marriners to rowe away, so that at last he gat out of their danger: and then asking for Peter de ponte, one of his sonnes being Sennor Nicolas de Ponte, came forth, whom hee perceiving, desired to put his men aside, and hee himselfe would leape a shoare and commune with him, which they did: so that after communication had betweene them of sundry things, and of the feare they both had, master Hawkins desired to have certaine necessaries provided for him. In the meane space, while these things were providing, hee trimmed the maine mast of the Jesus which in the storme aforesayd was sprung: here he sojourned 7. dayes, refreshing himselfe and his men.

Santa Cruz.

In the which time Peter de ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a citie 20. leagues off, came to him, and gave him as gentle intertainment as if he had bene his owne brother. To speake somewhat of these Ilands, being called in olde time Insulæ fortunatæ, by the meanes of the flourishing thereof, the fruitfulnesse of them doeth surely exceede farre all other that I have heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they have grapes of such bignesse, that they may bee compared to damsons, and in taste inferiour to none: for sugar, suckets, raisins of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for rosine & raw silke, there is great store, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde foule: they have many Camels also, which being young, are eaten of the people

A briefe description of the commodities of the Canarie Ilands.

for victuals, and being olde, they are used for caryage of necessaries: whose propertie is as hee is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and unlading againe: his nature is to ingender backward contrary to other beastes: of understanding very good, but of shape very deformed, with a little bellie, long misshapen legges, and feete very broad of flesh, without a hoofe, all whole, saving the great toe, a backe bearing up like a molehill, a large and thin necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh, which nature hath given him in his breast to leane upon. This beast liveth hardly, and is contented with strawe and stubble, but of force strong, being well able to carrie 500. weight. In one of these Ilands called Fierro, there is by *Fierro.* the reports of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof the inhabitants and cattell are satisfied with water, for other water have they none in all the Iland. And it raineth in such abundance, that it were incredible unto a man to beleeve such a vertue to bee in a tree, but it is knowen to be a divine matter, and a thing ordeined by God, at whose power therein wee ought not to marvell, seeing he did by his providence as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Israel were going into the land of promise, feede them with Manna from heaven, for the space of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforesaid wee saw in Guinie many, being of great *Trees dropping water in Guinie.* height, dropping continually, but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaves are narrower, and are like the leaves of a peare tree. About these Ilands are certaine flitting Ilands, which have beene oftentimes seene, and when men approched neere them, they vanished: as the like hath bene of these Ilands nowe knowen by the report of the inhabitants, which were not found of long time one after the other: and therefore it should seeme hee is not yet borne to whom God hath appoynted the finding of them. In this Iland of Teneriffe there is a hill called The Pike, because it is piked, which is in heigth by *The pike of Teneriffe.* their reports twentie leagues, having both winter and summer abundance of snowe in the top of it: this Pike

may bee seene in a cleere day fiftie leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke cloude a great heigth in the element. I have heard of none to be compared with this in heigth, but in the Indias I have seene many, and in my judgement not inferiour to the Pike, and so the Spaniards write.

[III. 503.] The 15. of November at night we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the same wee had sight of ten Caravels, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would have spoken, but they fearing us, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

Cape de las Barbas.

The twentieth, the ships pinnesse with two men in her, sayling by the ship, was overthrowen by the oversight of them that went in her, the winde being so great, that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driven half a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recoverie, had not Gods helpe and the Captaines deligence bene, who having wel marked which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24 of the lustiest rowers in the great boate, to rowe to the wind-wardes, and so recovered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting upon the keele of her.

Cape Blanco.

The 25 he came to Cape Blanco, which is upon the coast of Africa, and a place where the Portugals do ride, that fish there in the moneth of November especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fish. In this place the Portugals have no holde for their defence, but have rescue of the Barbarians, whom they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there and for their fishing upon that coast of Africa, doe pay a certaine tribute to the king of the Moores. The people of that part of Africa are tawnie, having long haire without any apparell, saving before their privie members. Their weapons in warres are bowes and arrowes.

The 26 we departed from S. Avis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selves with fish,

and other necessaries: and the 29 wee came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14 degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negros, without any apparell, saving before their privities: of stature goodly men, and well liking by reason of their food, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goats, pullin, rise, fruits, and fish. Here wee tooke fishes with heads like conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a jolly thickenesse, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting off his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans: the people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of all other, saving the Congoes, which do inhabite on this side the cape de Buena Esperança. These Leophares have warres against the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapons are bowes and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negros: for whereas the other use a long dart to fight with in their hands, they cary five or sixe small ones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more civill then any other, because of their dayly trafficke with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle and loving: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19 that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60 tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the plankes of their Barke with a sea brake out upon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to save themselves in their boats: but by Gods providence, the wind being Westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got to the shore, to the Isle Brava, and in great penurie gotte to Cape Verde, where they remained sixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman having forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shore, and wandring with the Negros too and fro, fortuned to come to the waters side: and communing with certaine of his countreymen, which were

Cape Verde in 14 degrees.

Leophares.

Ieloffes.

The trafficke of the French men at Cape Verde.

in our ship, by their perswasions came away with us: but his entertainement amongst them was such, that he desired it not: but through the importunate request of his Countreymen, consented at the last. Here we stayed but one night, and part of the day: for the 7 of December wee came away, in that pretending to have taken Negros there perforce, the Mynions men gave them there to understand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did avoyde the snares we had layd for them.

Alcatrarses or Ganets.

The 8 of December wee ankered by a small Island called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shore, we found nothing but sea-birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portugals, called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gave the said Island the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being used to the sight of men, flew so about us, that we stroke them downe with poles. In this place the two shippes riding, the two Barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them, and there landed to the number of 80 in armour, and espying certaine made to them, but they fled in such order into the woods, that it booted them not to follow: so going on their way forward till they came to a river, which they could not passe over, they espied on the otherside two men, who with their bowes and arrowes shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certaine harquebuzes to them againe, but the ignorant people wayed it not, because they knewe not the danger thereof: but used a marveilous crying in their fight with leaping and turning their tayles, that it was most strange to see, and gave us great pleasure to beholde them. At the last, one being hurt with a harquebuz upon the thigh, looked upon his wound and wist not howe it came, because hee could not see the pellet. Here Master Hawkins perceiving no good to be done amongst them, because we could not

The Sapies.

[III. 504.]

finde their townes, and also not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilote, which was the very occasion of our comming thither: and finding so many sholes, feared with our great ships to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols. *Rio grande.* *The Idols.*

The 10 of December, we had a Northeast winde, with raine and storme, which weather continuing two dayes together, was the occasion that the Salomon, and Tygre loste our companie: for whereas the Jesus, and pinnesse ankered at one of the Islands called Sambula, the twelfth day, the Salomon and Tygre came not thither till the 14. In this Island we stayed certaine daies, going every day on shore to take the Inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. These Samboses had inhabited there three yeres before our comming thither, and in so short space have so planted the ground, that they had great plentie of Mil, Rise, Rootes, Pompions, Pullin, goates, of small frye dried, every house full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods providence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and sundry other in no place in all that Countrey so aboundantly, whereby they lived more deliciously then other. These inhabitants have diverse of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres as their slaves, whome onely they kept to till the ground, in that they neither have the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themselves, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboses none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboses have white teeth as we have, farre unlike to the Sapies which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a braverie, to set out themselves, and doe jagge their flesh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Jerkinmaker with us pinketh a jerkin. These Sapies be more civill then the Samboses: for *The Island called Sambula.* *The Samboses.* *Sapies.*

The Samboses man-eaters.

whereas the Samboses live most by the spoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also. The Sapies doe not eate mans flesh, unlesse in the warre they be driven by necessitie thereunto, which they have not used but by the example of the Samboses, but live onely with fruites, and cattell, whereof they have great store. This plentie is the occasion that the Sapies desire not warre, except they be therunto provoked by the invasions of the Samboses, whereas the Samboses for want of foode are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not woont onely to take them that they kill, but also keepe those that they take, untill such time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is also another occasion that provoketh the Samboses to warre against the Sapies which is for covetousnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies have an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpose, with their golde about them, the Samboses digge up the ground, to have the same treasure: for the Samboses have not the like store of golde, that the Sapies have. In this Island of Sambula we found about 50 boates called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough but of a good proportion, being about 8 yards long, and one in breadth, having a beakhead and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out side artifically carved, and painted red and blewe: they are able to cary twenty or thirty men, but they are about the coast able to cary threescore and upward. In these canoas they rowe standing upright, with an oare somewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largest sort. They row very swift, and in some of them foure rowers and one to steere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London.

The Sapies burie their dead with golde.

The Canoas of Affrica.

The forme of their townes.

Their Townes are pretily divided with a maine streete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another overthwart street, which maketh their townes

crosse wayes: their houses are built in a ranke very orderly in the face of the street, and they are made round, like a dovecote, with stakes set full of Palmito leaves, in stead of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, and two of heigth, & thatched with Palmito leaves very close, other some with reede, and over the roofe thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reede, pretily contrived like a louer: in the inner part they make a loft of stickes, whereupon they lay all their provision of victuals: a place they reserve at their enterance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is devided with certaine mattes artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bedsteades are of small staves layd along, and raysed a foote from the ground, upon which is layde a matte, and another upon them when they list: for other covering they have none. In the middle of the towne there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adjoyning unto the which there is a place made of foure good stancions of woode, and a round roofe over it, the grounde also raised round with claye a foote high, upon the which floore were strawed many fine mats: this is the Consultation-house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portugals affirme: in which place, when they sitte in Counsell the King or Captaine sitteth in the midst, and the Elders upon the floore by him: (for they give reverence to their Elders) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steale but a Portugal cloth from another, hee is sold to the Portugals for a slave. They consult also, and take order what time they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainely reported by the Portugals, they take order in gathering of the fruites in the season of the yeere, and also of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree, and a gourde set for the receiving thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth fresh wine againe within a moneth, and this

The Consultation house or towne-howse.

[III. 505.]

Palmito is a wilde date.

devided part and portion-like to every man, by the judgement of the Captaine and Elders, every man holdeth himselfe contented: and this surely I judge to be a very good order: for otherwise, whereas scarsitie of Palmito is, every man would have the same, which might breed great strife: but of such things, as every man doeth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it to his owne use, so that nothing is common, but that which is unset by mans hands. In their houses there is more common passage of Lizardes like Evats, and other greater, of blacke and blew colour, of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with us of Mise in great houses. The Sapies and Samboses also use in their warres bowes, and arrowes made of reedes, with heads of yron poysoned with the juyce of a Cucumber, whereof I had many in my handes. In their battels they have target-men, with broad wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and an halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the same length made to counterpease it, that in casting it might flie level, rather then for any other purpose as I can judge. And when they espie the enemie, the Captaine to cheere his men, cryeth Hungry, and they answere Heygre, and with that every man placeth himselfe in order, for about every target man three bowemen will cover themselves, and shoote as they see advantage: and when they give the onset, they make such terrible cryes, that they may bee heard two miles off. For their beliefe, I can heare of none that they have, but in such as they themselves imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof wee sawe some like unto devils. In this Island aforesayde wee sojourned unto the one and twentieth of December, where having taken certaine Negros, and asmuch of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well cary away, (whereof there was such store, that wee might have laden one of our Barkes therewith) wee departed, and at our departure divers of our men being desirous to goe on shore, to fetch Pompions,

A venemous Cucumber.

Idoles like devils.

which having prooved, they found to bee very good, certaine of the Tygres men went also, amongst the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his fellowes having fet many, and caryed them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellow to tary while he might goe up to fetch a few which he had layed by for him selfe, who being more licorous then circumspect, went up without weapon, and as he went up alone, possibly being marked of the Negros that were upon the trees, espying him what hee did, perceaving him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupyed in binding his Pompions together, came behinde him, overthrowing him and straight cutte his throate, as hee afterwardes was found by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there found him naked.

The extreme negligence of one of the companie.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the River, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the Johns Pinnesse, and the Salomons boate, leaving at anker in the Rivers mouth the two shippes, the River being twenty leagues in, where the Portugals roade: hee came thither the five and twentieth, and dispatched his businesse, and so returned with two Caravels, loaden with Negros.

The river Calowsa.

The 27. the Captaine was advertised by the Portugals of a towne of the Negros called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but also that there were not above fortie men, and an hundred women and children in the Towne, so that if hee would give the adventure upon the same, hee might gette an hundreth slaves: with the which tydings hee being gladde, because the Portugals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst give them that, and greater attempts: and being thereunto also the more provoked with the prosperous successe hee had in other Islands adjacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate twentie together, determined to stay before the Towne three or foure houres, to see what hee could doe: and thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon together, to the

The Towne of Bimba.

number of fortie men well appointed, having to their guides certaine Portugals, in a boat, who brought some of them to their death: wee landing boat after boat, and divers of our men scattering themselves, contrary to the Captaines will, by one or two in a company, for the hope that they had to finde golde in their houses, ransacking the same, in the meane time the Negros came upon them, and hurte many being thus scattered, whereas if five or sixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companions did, to give the overthrow to 40 of them, and being driven downe to take their boates, were followed so hardly by a route of Negros, who by that tooke courage to pursue them to their boates, that not onely some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter by meanes that the Negros did flee at the first, and our companie remained in the towne, were suddenly so set upon that some with great hurt recovered their boates; othersome not able to recover the same, tooke the water, and perished by meanes of the oaze. While this was doing, the Captaine who with a dosen men, went through the towne, returned, finding 200 Negros at the waters side, shooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in pieces which were drowned in the water, at whose comming, they ranne all away: so he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the shore, they returned againe, and shot very fiercely and hurt divers of them. Thus wee returned backe some what discomforted, although the Captaine in a singular wise maner caried himselfe, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though hee did litle weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the rest, although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it; done to this ende, that the Portugals being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hinderance for the death of our men: having gotten by our going ten Negros, and lost seven of our best men, whereof M. Field Captaine

Portugals not to be trusted. Want of circumspection in our men.

[III. 506.]

M. Field Captaine of the Salomon slaine.

of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27 of our men hurt. In the same houre while this was doing, there happened at the same instant, a marveilous miracle to them in the shippes, who road ten leagues to sea-ward, by many sharkes or Tiburons, who came about the ships: among which, one was taken by the Jesus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very sore hurt escaped: and so it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Jesus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the fift having twentie wounds was rescued, and scaped with much adoe.

The 28 they came to their ships, the Jesus, and the Salomon, and the 30 departed from thence to Taggarin. *Taggarin.*

The first of January the two barkes, and both the boates forsooke the ships, and went into a river called the Casserroes, and the 6 having dispatched their businesse, the two barkes returned, and came to Taggarin, where the two ships were at anker. Not two dayes after the comming of the two ships thither, they put their water caske a shore, and filled it with water, to season the same, thinking to have filled it with fresh water afterward: and while their men were some on shore, and some at their boates, the Negros set upon them in the boates, and hurt divers of them, and came to the caskes, and cut of the hoopes of twelve buts, which lost us 4 or 5 dayes time, besides great want we had of the same: sojourning at Taggarin, the Swallow went up the river about her trafficke, where they saw great townes of the Negros, and Canoas, that had threescore men in a piece: there they understood by the Portugals, of a great battell betweene them of Sierra Leona side, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared three hundred Canoas to invade the other. The time was appointed not past sixe dayes after our departure from thence, which we would have seene, to the intent we might have taken some of them, had it not bene for the death and sickenesse of our men, which came by the contagiousnes of the place, which made us to make hast away.

The river of Casserroes.

A new assault by the Negros. Great townes. Very great Canoas.

The contagion of the countrey of Sierra Leona.

The 18 of Januarie at night, wee departed from Taggarin, being bound for the West Indies, before which departure certaine of the Salomons men went on shore to fill water in the night, and as they came on shore with their boat being ready to leape on land, one of them espied an Negro in a white coate, standing upon a rocke, being ready to have received them when they came on shore, having in sight of his fellowes also eight or nine, some in one place leaping out, and some in another, but they hid themselves streight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and sought to have taken them at more advantage, as God would, departed to their ships, not thinking there had bene such a mischiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we understood of a Portugal that came downe to us, who had trafficked with the Negros, by whom hee understood, that the king of Sierra Leona had made all the power hee could, to take some of us, partly for the desire he had to see what kinde of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had newes before our comming, and as I judge also, upon other occasions provoked by the Tangomangos, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the evening wee saw such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the only marke for the Tangomangos to know where their armie is alwayes. If these men had come downe in the evening, they had done us great displeasure, for that wee were on shore filling water: but God, who worketh all things for the best, would not have it so, and by him we escaped without danger, his name be praysed for it.

Tangomangos.

[III. 507.] The 29 of this same moneth we departed with all our shippes from Sierra Leona, towardes the West Indies, and for the space of eighteene dayes, we were becalmed, having nowe and then contrary windes, and

some Ternados, amongst the same calme, which happened to us very ill, beeing but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negros, and our selves, which pinched us all, and that which was worst, put us in such feare that many never thought to have reached to the Indies, without great death of Negros, and of themselves: but the Almightie God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the sixteenth of Februarie, the ordinary Brise, which is the Northwest winde, which never left us, till wee came to an Island of the Canybals, called Dominica, where wee arrived the ninth of March, upon a Saturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Island, we could see no Canybals, but some of their houses where they dwelled, and as it should seeme forsooke the place for want of fresh water, for wee could finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hilles, and remained as a puddle in the dale, whereof wee filled for our Negros. The Canybals of that Island, and also others adjacent are the most desperate warriers that are in the Indies, by the Spaniardes report, who are never able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driven to water there in any of those Islands: of very late, not two moneths past, in the said Island, a Caravel being driven to water, was in the night sette upon by the inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driven a shore, and so taken by them, and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was Captaine one Bontemps, in March also, came to one of those Islands, called Granada, and being driven to water, could not doe the same for the Canybals, who fought with him very desperatly two dayes. For our part also, if we had not lighted upon the desertest place in all that Island, wee could not have missed, but should have bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reports, who make them devils in respect of me.

Dominica Island.

Canybals exceeding cruell, and to be avoyded.

The Testigos Island. *Margarita Island.*

The tenth day at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Islands, called the Testigos: and the sixteenth of an Island, called Margarita, where wee were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both Beeves and sheepe given us, for the refreshing of our men: but the Governour of the Island, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet give him any licence to trafficke: and to displease us the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilote to have gone with us, they would not onely not suffer him to goe with us, but also sent word by a Caravel out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Vice-roy, who doeth represent the kings person, of our arrivall in those partes, which had like to have turned us to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Vice-roy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them that by the vertue of his authoritie, and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should trafficke with us, but should resist us with all the force they could. In this Island, notwithstanding that wee were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not onely the Governour himselfe, but also all the inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them and fled into the mountaines, as wee were partly certified, and also sawe the experience our selves, by some of the Indians comming to see us who by three Spaniards a horsebacke passing hard by us, went unto the Indians, having every one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conversant with us.

Cumana.

Here perceiving no trafficke to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, we were driven to depart the twentieth day, and the 2 and twentieth we came to a place in the maine called Cumana, whither the Captaine going in his Pinnisse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whom he demanded trafficke, but they made him answere, they were but

souldiers newely come thither, and were not able to by one Negro: whereupon hee asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fè, where we found marveilous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboord the shore twentie fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after we came thither, came down to us, presenting mill and cakes of breade, which they had made of a kinde of corne called Maiz, in bignesse of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a spanne in length, having thereon a number of granes. Also they brought down to us Hennes, Potatoes and Pines, which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles. *Santa Fe.*

These Potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may be eaten, and doe farre exceed our passeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bignes of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rinde of a Cucomber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious then any sweet apple sugred. These Indians being of colour tawnie like an Olive, having every one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging downe to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but dayly pull it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men covering no part of their body but their yard, upon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a thrid about their loynes, leaving the other parts of their members uncovered, whereof they take no shame. The women also are uncovered, saving with a cloth which they weare a hand-breath, wherewith they cover their privities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for travelling they cary but two [III. 508.] *The description of the Indians of Terra firma.*

small bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the juice of Sorrell whereof they have great store, and in the other flowre of their Maiz, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men cary every man his bowe and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bignesse of a mans arme, other some with broad heades of iron wherewith they stricke fish in the water: the experience whereof we saw not once nor twise, but dayly for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselves and their horses with quilted canvas of two ynches thicke, and leave no place of their body open to their enemies, saving their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling: their poyson is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith dyeth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards do affirme, & in my judgement it is like there can be no stronger poyson as they make it, using thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a strong poyson, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The use of Sorrell.

Armour of quilted canvas two ynches thicke.

The making of their poison.

The maners of the yong women.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them have hanging breastes which they account to bee great deforming in them, and upon that occasion while they bee yong, they destroy their seede, saying, that it is fittest for olde women. Moreover, when they are delivered of childe, they goe straight to washe themselves, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they have are made of Gossopine cotton, and wrought artificially of divers colours, which they cary about with them when they travell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people

be surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to live peaceably, or els had it bene unpossible for the Spaniards to have conquered them as they did, and the more to live now peaceably, they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maine land, and the Island called Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere of our Lorde God one thousande five hundred sixty five aforesaide, and sayled along the coast untill the first of Aprill, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Jesus pinnesse to discerne the coast, and saw many Caribes on shore, and some also in their Canoas, which made tokens unto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would trafficke for wares. Whereupon he stayed to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles they gave such things as they had about them, and departed: but the Caribes were very importunate to have them come on shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to trafficke with them, he would not have denyed them, because the Indians which we saw before were very gentle people, and such as do no man hurt. But as God would have it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would have bene his confusion: for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more devilish a thousand partes and are eaters and devourers of any man they can catch, as it was afterwards declared unto us at Burboroata, by a Caravel comming out of Spaine with certaine souldiers, and a Captaine generall sent by the king for those Eastward parts of the Indians, who sayling along in his pinnesse, as our Captaine did to descry the coast, was by the Caribes called a shoore with sundry tokens made to him of friendshippe, and golde shewed as though they desired trafficke, with the which the Spaniard being mooved, suspecting no deceite at all, went ashore amongst them: who was no sooner ashore, but with foure or five

The Isle of Tortuga.

more was taken, the rest of his company being invaded by them, saved themselves by flight, but they that were taken, paied their ransome with their lives, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toll with their golde the ignorant to their snares: they are blood-suckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps, not sparing their owne countreymen if they can conveniently come by them. Their policie in fight with the Spaniards is marveilous: for they chuse for their refuge the mountaines and woodes where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to be met in the plaine where one horse-man may over-runne 100. of them, they have a devise of late practised by them to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselves politique warriers. They have more abundance of golde then all the Spaniards have, and live upon the mountaines where the Mines are in such number, that the Spaniards have much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure ynough.

The crueltie of the Caribes.

[III. 509.]

Thus having escaped the danger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of April to a Towne called Burboroata, where his ships came to an ancker, and hee himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniards, to whom hee declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of marchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Unto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to trafique with any forren nation, upon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therfore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their handes, because they were subjects and might not goe beyond the law. But hee replied that his necessitie was such, as he might not so do:

Burboroata.

for being in one of the Queens Armadas of England, and having many souldiours in them, hee had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee coulde not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would hee commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, not yet for his honest reputation and estimation, unlesse hee were too rigorously dealt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without danger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our parts wee had free trafique in Spain and Flanders, which are in his dominions, and therefore he knew no reason why he should not have the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniards made answere, that it lay not in them to give any licence, for that they had a governour to whom the government of those parts was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their governour who was threescore leagues off, and would returne answere within the space appointed, of his minde.

In the meane time they were contented hee should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliver him any victuals he would require. Whereupon the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiving all things according to promise, the Captaine advised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receive no good answere from the governour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to have licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negros which hee had in his shippe like to die upon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, having little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men having them, they would bee recovered well ynough. And

this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals & for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and towne-dwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, granted him licence for thirtie Negros, which afterwards they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should graunt to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwards. This being past, our Captaine according to their licence, thought to have made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Governour his answere because they would keepe themselves blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, marveiling what the matter was that none came to buy them. They answered, because they had granted licence onely to the poore to buy those Negros of small price, and their money was not so ready as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as ever they sawe the shippes, they conveyed away their money by their wives that went into the mountaines for feare, & were not yet returned, & yet asked two dayes to seeke their wives and fetch their money. Notwithstanding, the next day divers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiving they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buy, and would not confesse if hee had licence, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did send for the principals of the Towne, and made a shewe hee would depart, declaring himselfe to be very sory that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the governour to come downe, seeing nowe his pretence was to depart, whereat they marveiled much, and asked

him what cause mooved him thereunto, seeing by their working he was in possibilitie to have his licence.

To the which he replied, that it was not onely a [III. 510.] licence that he sought, but profit, which he perceived was not there to bee had, and therefore would seeke further, and withall shewed him his writings what he payed for his Negros, declaring also the great charge he was at in his shipping, and mens wages, and therefore to countervaile his charges, hee must sell his Negros for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that he had no licence that he should not loose his labour in tarying, for they would buy without licence. Whereupon, the Captaine being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that hee might make sale of his leane Negros, which they granted unto. And the next day did sell some of them, who having bought and payed for them, thinking to have had a discharge of the Customer, for the custome of the Negros, being the Kings duetie, they gave it away to the poore for Gods sake, and did refuse to give the discharge in writing, and the poore not trusting their wordes, for feare, least hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, so that nothing else was done untill the Governours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a shippe of the Queenes Majesties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driven by winde and weather, so that being come thither, hee had neede of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Navie, and also great need of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, unto whom hee had promised paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, & for that purpose he requested licence for the sale of certaine of his Negros, declaring that although they were forbidden to trafique with strangers, yet for that there

was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing perteined to our Queenes highnesse, he thought hee might doe their prince great service, and that it would bee well taken at his hands, to doe it in this cause. The which allegations with divers others put in request, were presented unto the Governour, who sitting in counsell for that matter, granted unto his request for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings Custome, being upon every slave 30. duckets, which would not be granted unto.

Whereupon the Captaine perceiving that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the Kings Custome of that they offered, so that either he must be a great looser by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the same kings Custome which was too unreasonable, for to a higher price hee coulde not bring the buyers: Therefore the sixteenth of April hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuzes and pikes, with the which hee marched to the townewards, and being perceived by the Governour, he straight with all expedition sent messengers to knowe his request, desiring him to march no further forward untill he had answere againe, which incontinent he should have. So our Captaine declaring how unreasonable a thing the Kings Custome was, requested to have the same abated, and to pay seven and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie Custome for wares through his dominions there, and unto this if they would not graunt, hee would displease them. And this word being caried to the Governour, answere was returned that all things should bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the souldiers and Mariners finding so little credite in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the premisses, or els they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send gages, wee departed, beginning our trafique, and ending the same without disturbance.

An hundreth Englishmen in armour.

Thus having made trafique in the harborough untill the 28. our Captaine with his ships intended to goe out of the roade, and purposed to make shew of his departure, because nowe the common sort having imployed their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no shew that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the Captaine knew they would be made the more eager, for feare least we departed, and they should goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie wee being at ancker without the road, a French ship called the Greene Dragon of Newhaven, whereof was Captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted us after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of Ordinance, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portugals gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened unto the Minion: besides the Captaine Davie Carlet and a Marchant, with a dozen Mariners betrayed by the Negros at their first arrivall thither, and remayning prisoners with the Portugals; and besides other misadventures of the losse of their men, happened through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for us to understand.

The reports of the mishaps of the Minion in Guinie.

Thus having ended our trafique here the 4. of May, we departed, leaving the Frenchman behinde us, the night before the which the Caribes, whereof I have made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canoas to Burboroata, intending by night to have burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiving them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horsebacke, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses ready sadled, in the night set upon them, & tooke one,

[III. 511.] *May.*

Horses kept ready sadled.

but the rest making shift for themselves, escaped away. But this one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that divers times they had made invasion upon them, had for his traveile a stake thrust through his fundament, and so out at his necke.

The sixt of May aforesaide, wee came to an yland called Curaçao, where wee had thought to have anckered, but could not find ground, and having let fal an ancker with two cables, were faine to weigh it againe: and the seventh sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and finding none, wee came to an ancker where we rode open in the Sea. In this place we had trafique for hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that saving the skinnes, we had the flesh given us for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundant, that the worst in the ship thought scorne not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdained to eate unrosted.

Exceeding plentie of cattle in Curazao.

The increase of cattell in this yland is marveilous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the governour, in 25. yeres he had a hundreth thousand at the least, & of other cattel was able to kill without spoile of the increase 1500. yeerely, which hee killeth for the skinnes, and of the flesh saveth onely the tongues, the rest hee leaveth to the foule to devoure. And this I am able to affirme, not onely upon the Governours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, which so remaineth unto this day, but also by that I saw my selfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, saving the skinne and tongue taken away. And it is not so marveilous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the ylands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, having delicate fruites and meates ynough besides to feede upon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleeve, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an yland called by the

finders thereof Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattell, and such increase therof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to asswage the number of them, but they are devoured by wilde dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountaines, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no marveile, for the said yland is almost as bigge as all England, and being the first place that was founde of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, it ought therefore of reason to be most populous: and to this houre the Viceroy and counsell royall abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies, to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet have they but one Citie and 13. villages in all the same yland, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

Great numbers of wilde dogs.

The 15. of the foresaid moneth wee departed from Curaçao, being not a little to the rejoycing of our Captaine and us, that wee had there ended our trafique: but notwithstanding our sweete meate, wee had sower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blastes whereby our anckers being a ground, three at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shore we were faine to hale off to have anker-hold, sometimes a whole day and a night we turned up and downe; and this happened not once, but halfe a dozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. wee passed by an yland called Aruba, and the 17. at night anckered sixe houres at the West ende of Cabo de la vela, and in the morning being the 18. weighed againe, keeping our course, in the which time the Captaine sailing by the shore in the pinnesse, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards use to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who tolde him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which because he would not overshoot, he ankered that night

Aruba.

La Rancheria.

Rio de la Hacha.

againe, & the 19. came thither; where having talke with the kings treasurer of the Indies resident there, he declared his quiet trafique in Burboroata, & shewed a certificate of the same, made by the governour thereof, & therefore he desired to have the like there also: but the treasurer made answere that they were forbidden by the Viceroy and councill of S. Domingo, who having intelligence of our being on the coast, did sende expresse commission to resist us, with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not trafique with us in no case, alleaging that if they did, they should loose all that they did trafique for, besides their bodies at the magistrates commaundement. Our Captaine replied, that hee was in an Armada of the [III. 512.] Queenes Majesties of England, and sent about other her affaires, but driven besides his pretended voyage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into those parts, where he hoped to finde such friendship as hee should doe in Spaine, to the contrary whereof hee knewe no reason, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But seeing they would contrary to all reason go about to withstand his trafique, he would it should not be said by him, that having the force he hath, to be driven from his trafique perforce, but he would rather put it in adventure to try whether he or they should have the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to give him licence to trade, or else to stand to their owne harmes: So upon this it was determined hee should have licence to trade, but they would give him such a price as was the one halfe lesse then he had sold for before, and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwise with him. Whereupon, the captaine waying their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that they dealt too rigorously with him, to go about to cut his throte in the price of his commodities, which were so reasonably rated, as they could not by a great deale have the like at any other mans handes. But seeing they had sent him this to

M. Hawkins his letter to the Treasurer of Rio de la Hacha.

his supper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakefast. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, hee shot off a whole Culvering to summon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went a shore, having in his great boate two Faulcons of brasse, and in the other boates double bases in their noses, which being perceived by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell aray with their drumme and ensigne displayed, marched from the Towne to the sands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weaving us a shore, whereby they made a semblance to have fought with us in deed. But our Captaine perceiving them so bragge, commanded the two Faulcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small feare to see, (as they afterward declared) such great pieces in a boate. At every shot they fell flat to the ground, and as wee approched neere unto them, they broke their aray, and dispersed themselves so much for feare of the Ordinance, that at last they went all away with their ensigne. The horsemen also being about thirtie, made as brave a shew as might be, coursing up and downe with their horses, their brave white leather Targets in the one hand, and their javelings in the other, as though they would have received us at our landing. But when wee landed, they gave ground, and consulted what they should doe, for little they thought wee would have landed so boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to have encountred with them, they sent a messenger on horse-backe with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the Treasurer marveiled what he meant to doe to come a shore in that order, in consideration that they had granted to every reasonable request that he did demaund: but the Captaine not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards. The messenger prayed him to stay his men, and saide, if hee would come apart from his men, the Treasurer would come and speake with him, whereunto hee did agree to commune together. The

Captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the Treasurer on horsebacke with his javeling, was afraide to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he said was worse then his weapon, and so keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requests. Which being declared by the Captaine to the company, they desired to have pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that otherwise when they had made themselves stronger, they would have bene at defiance with us: and seeing that now they might have what they would request, they judged it to be more wisedome to be in assurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So upon this, gages were sent, and we made our trafique quietly with them. In the mean time while we stayed here, wee watered a good breadth off from the shore, where by the strength of the fresh water running into the Sea, the salt water was made fresh. In this River we saw many Crocodils of sundry bignesses, but some as bigge as a boate, with 4. feete, a long broad mouth, and a long taile, whose skinne is so hard, that a sword wil not pierce it. His nature is to live out of the water as a frogge doth, but he is a great devourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beastes, nor men, if hee take them, as the proofe thereof was knowen by a Negro, who as hee was filling water in the River was by one of them caried cleane away, and never seene after. His nature is ever when hee would have his prey, to cry and sobbe like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this proverbe that is applied unto women when they weepe, Lachrymæ Crocodili, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocodile when hee crieth, goeth then about most to deceive, so doeth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the Master of the Jesus watched one, and by the banks side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after three or foure times turning in sight, hee sunke downe, and was not afterward seene. In the time of our being in the Rivers Guinie, wee sawe many

of a monstrous bignesse, amongst the which the captaine being in one of the Barks comming downe the same, shot a Faulcon at one, which very narowly hee missed, and with a feare hee plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate. [III. 513.]

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would have done them some harme before we departed, or for any treason that they intended towards us, I am not able to say; but then came thither a Captaine from some of the other townes, with a dozen souldiers upon a time when our Captaine and the treasurer cleared al things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the governors of Burboroata, which was to be payd by the said treasurer, who would not answer the same by any meanes. Whereupon certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the Captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our Captaine would perforce have sought the same, did immediately command his men to armes, both horsemen and footemen: but because the Captaine was in the River on the backe side of the Towne with his other boates, and all his men unarmed and without weapons, it was to be judged he ment him little good, having that advantage of him, that comming upon the sudden, hee might have mischieved many of his men: but the Captaine having understanding thereof, not trusting to their gentlenesse, if they might have the advantage, departed aboord his ships, and at night returned againe, and demanded amongst other talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that order, & they answered, that their Captaine being come to towne did muster his men according to his accustomed maner. But it is to be judged to bee a cloake, in that comming for that purpose hee might have done it sooner, but the trueth is, they were not of force untill then, whereby to enterprise any matter against us, by meanes of pikes and harquebuzes, whereof they have want, and were now furnished by our Captaine, and also 3. Faulcons, which

having got in other places, they had secretly conveyed thither, which made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a convenient place to do such a feat, and time also serving thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not onely unarmed and unprovided, as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harme: these were occasions to provoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that *I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards us, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I marveiled, and revoking to minde the former talke betweene the Captaine and him, and the unreadinesse of our men, of whom advantage might have bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediatly to give knowledge thereof, but before we came to our men by a flight-shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere us, being sent, as wee did gesse, to stay us least wee should cary newes to our Captaine, but seeing us so neere our men they stayed their horses, comming together, and suffring us to passe, belike because wee were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediatly would have departed, whereby they should have bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espie what we did, and seeing us gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspition might bee had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the Captaine, that standing in doubt of their courtesie, he returned in the morning with his three boats, appointed with Bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none: and thus dissembling all injuries conceived of both parts, the Captaine went ashore, leaving pledges in the boates for himselfe, and cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, saving for the governers debt, which the one

The author of this storie.

by no meanes would answere, and the other, because it was not his due debt, woulde not molest him for it, but was content to remit it untill another time, and therefore departed, causing the two Barkes which rode neere the shore to weigh and go under saile, which was done because that our Captaine demanding a testimoniall of his good behaviour there, could not have the same untill hee were under saile ready to depart: and therefore at night he went for the same againe, & received it at the treasurers hand, of whom very courteously he tooke his leave and departed, shooting off the bases of his boat for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure Faulcons and 30. harquebuzes, and this was the first time that he knew of the conveyance of their Faulcons.

The 31. of May wee departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of June wee had sight of an yland, which wee made to be Jamaica, marveiling that by the vehement course of the Seas we should be driven so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fel with the middle of Jamaica, notwithstanding that to al mens sight it shewed a headland, but they were all deceived by the clouds that lay upon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the said yland. And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a Marchant, and inhabitant in Jamaica, having [III. 514.] occasion to go to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negros, & afterwards bought by the Tangomangos, was by our Captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his countrey, who perceiving the land, made as though he knew every place thereof, and pointed to certaine places which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the ende he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboord of all places, and found our selves at the West end of Jamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting up againe,

so that by trusting of the Spaniards knowledge, our Captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitants, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would have done as his custome was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our Captaine, who made him loose by overshooting the place 2000. pounds by hides, which hee might have gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his Countrey, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negros and Tangomangos, and in hope to come to his wife and friendes, as he made sure accompt, in that at his going into the pinnesse, when he went to shore he put on his new clothes, and for joy flung away his old, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we sailed all along, but it fell out ever by one occasion or other, that wee were put beside the same, so that he was faine to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, & being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a bushell of flower should be sold for a sickle, would not beleeve him, but thought it unpossible: and for that cause Elizæus prophesied hee should see the same done, but hee should not eate thereof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not ever thinking to have seene his owne Countrey, did see the same, went upon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remaine with his friends according to his desire.

June. Thus having sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seventh of June, being made to beleeve by the Spaniard that it was not Jamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the Captaine also was, because that which hee made Jamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not beleeve he was so farre driven to leeward, and therfore setting his course to

The deceitfull force of the current.

Jamaica, and after certaine dayes not finding the same, perceived then certainly that the yland which he was at before was Jamaica, and that the cloudes did deceive him, whereof he marvelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the overshooting of Jamaica: for by this did he also overpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as he was informed, was great store of hides to be had: & thus being disappointed of two of his portes, where he thought to have raised great profite by his trafique, and also to have found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men, hee was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shore to obteine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes overpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine ylands in number two hundred, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants: by the which ylands the Captaine passing in his pinnesse, could finde no fresh water untill. hee came to an yland bigger then all the rest, called the yle of Pinas, where wee anckered with our ships the 16. of June, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the Sea was brackish, yet did wee not refuse it, but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, then wee should have bene another time with fine Conduit water. Thus being reasonably watered we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very convenient for such ships of charge as they were, because there were many shoales to leeward, which also lay open to the sea for any wind that should blow: and therfore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not unneedfull: for little sooner were their anckers weyed, and foresaile set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest, was faine for haste to cut the cable in

Two hundred ylands for the most part not inhabited.

the hawse, and loose both ancker and cable to save her selfe.

The Cape of S. Anthony in Cuba.

Thus the 17. of June, we departed and on the 20. wee fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Antony, where for the space of three dayes wee doubled along, till wee came beyond the shoales, which are 20. leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary Brise taking us, which is the Northeast winde, put us the 24. from the shoare, and therefore we went to the Northwest to fetch wind, and also to the coast of Florida to have the helpe of the current, which was judged to have set to the Eastward: so the 29. wee found our selves in 27. degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selves the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelve fadome water, having all the while no sight of land.

Florida.

[III. 515.]

The Isles of Tortugas.

Great store of birds.

The fift of July we had sight of certeine Islands of sand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them; and if they had beene ten boats more, they might have done the like. These Islands beare the name of Tortoises, because of the number of them, which there do breed, whose nature is to live both in the water and upon land also, but breed onely upon the shore, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges, to the number of three or foure hundred, and covering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the Sunne; and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which have both backe and belly all of bone, of the thicknes of an inch: the fish whereof we proved, eating much like veale; and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly. Heere wee ankered sixe houres, and then a faire gale of winde springing, we weyed anker, and made saile toward Cuba, whither we came the sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the forme thereof: here we lay

A hill called the Table.

off and on all night, to keepe that we had gotten to wind-ward, intending to have watered in the morning, if we could have done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to have plied to wind-ward to Havana, which is an harborow whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tary to have one the company of another. This hill we thinking to have beene the Table, made account (as it was indeed) that Havana was but eight leagues to wind-ward, but by the perswasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleeve he knew the Table very well, and had beene at Havana, sayd that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was Havana. To which persuasion credit being given by some, and they not of the woorst, the captaine was persuaded to goe to leeward, and so sailed along the seventh and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table; and then perceiving his folly to give eare to such praters, was not a little sory, both because he did consider what time he should spend yer he could get so far to wind-ward againe, which would have bene, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelve dayes worke, & what it would have bene longer he knew not, and (that which was woorst) he had not above a dayes water and therfore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not live with it, he determined to seeke water, and to goe further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los puercos, which he was in doubt of, both whether it were inhabited, & whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoalds he might have such accesse with his ships, that he might conveniently take in the same. And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesayd, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer

The port of Havana.

us to run into any further danger, which we had bene like to have incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no ship escapeth which commeth thither, (as the Spanyards have very wel proved the same) sent us the eight day at night a faire Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but every man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoever had happened; and taking the sayd winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, unawares overshot Havana; at which place wee thought to have watered: but the next day, not knowing that wee had overshot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleventh day in the morning, by certeine knowen marks, we understood that we had overshot it 20 leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no convenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to disemboque, and to water upon the coast of Florida: for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoalds, which are very dangerous; and because the current shooteth to the Northeast, we doubted by the force thereof to be set upon them, and therefore durst not approch them: so making but reasonable way the day aforesayd, and all the night, the twelfth day in the morning we fell with the Islands upon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the meanes that fearing the shoalds to the Eastwards, and doubting the current comming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of; for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt such a current, that bearing all sailes against the same, yet were driven backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Jesus pinnesse, and the Salomons boat, which were sent the same day in the afternoone, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could finde any water upon the Islands aforesaid; who spent a great part of the day in rowing

The state of the current of Florida.

thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a faire gale of winde springing at sea, the ships departed, making a signe to them to come away, who although they saw them depart, because they were so neere the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and see if there were any water to be had, making no account but to finde the shippes well enough: but [III. 516.] they spent so much time in filling the water which they had found, that the night was come before they could make an end. And having lost the sight of the ships, they rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they should seeke them againe; as indeed there was a more doubt then they knew of: for when they departed, the shippes were in no current; and sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that bearing all sailes, it could not prevaile against the same, but were driven backe: whereupon the captaine sent the Salomon, with the other two barks, to beare neere the shore all night, because the current was lesse there a great deale, and to beare light, with shooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boats might better know how to come to them.

The Jesus also bare a light in her toppe gallant, and shot off a piece also now and then, but the night passed, and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ships and barkes ceased not to looke still for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night past; and therefore determined to tary no longer, seeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Jesus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the current) was caried almost out of sight; but as God would have it, now time being come, and they having tacked about in the pinnesses top, had sight of them, and tooke them up: they in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, having sight of the ships,

and seeing them tacking about; whereas before at the first sight of them they did greatly rejoyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then ever they were: for by this they thought themselves utterly forsaken, whereas before they were in some hope to have found them. Truly God wrought marvellously for them, for they themselves having no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestow any further time in seeking the shippes then that present noone time; so that if they had not at that instant espied them, they had gone to the shore to have made provision for victuals, and with such things as they could have gotten, either to have gone for that part of Florida where the French men were planted (which would have bene very hard for them to have done, because they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being an hundred and twenty leagues off) or els to have remained amongst the Floridians; at whose hands they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remained in Florida at the first finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receive victuals sufficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were, for a yeere or two, untill which time God might have provided for them. But how contrary this would have fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to judge, seeing those people of the cape of Florida are of more savage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the rest; which the Spanyards well prooved, who being five hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forsake the same: and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a frier, who taking upon him to persuade the people to subjection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled over his eares, and his flesh eaten.

In these Islands they being a shore, found a dead man, dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodies of men: so that these sorts of men are eaters

of the flesh of men, aswel as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpose.

The foureteenth day the shippe and barks came to the Jesus, bringing them newes of the recovery of the men, which was not a little to the rejoycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and so then altogether they kept on their way along the coast of Florida, and the fifteenth day come to an anker, and so from sixe and twenty degrees to thirty degrees and a halfe, where the French men abode, ranging all the coast along, seeking for fresh water, ankering every night, because we would overshoot no place of fresh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ships pinnesse sailed along the shore, went into every creeke, speaking with divers of the Floridians, because hee would understand where the French men inhabited; and not finding them in eight and twenty degrees, as it was declared unto him, marvelled thereat, and never left sailing along the coast till he found them, who inhabited in a river, by them called the river of May, and standing in thirty degrees and better. In ranging this coast along, the captaine found it to be all an Island, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very scant of fresh water, but the countrey was marvellously sweet, with both marish and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found sorell to grow as abundantly as grasse, and where their houses were, great store of maiz and mill, and grapes of great bignesse, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also Deere great plentie, which came upon the sands before them. Their houses are not many together, for in one house an hundred of them do lodge; they being made much like a great barne, and in strength not inferiour to ours, for they have stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are covered with palmito-leaves, having no place divided, but one small roome for their king and queene. In the middest of this house is a hearth, where they make great fires all night, and they sleepe upon certeine pieces of wood

M. Hawkins ranged all the coast of Florida.

The river of May.

Florida found to be cut into Islands.

Sorell.

The commodities of Florida.

The houses of Florida.

[III. 517.]

hewen in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads, which they put one by another all along the walles on both sides. In their houses they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they desire the fields, where they dresse their meat, and make provision for victuals, which they provide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be marvelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but also the Negros doe the same, which is made onely by two stickes, rubbing them one against another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde sticks sufficient for the purpose. In their apparell the men onely use deere skinnes, wherewith some onely cover their privy members, othersome use the same as garments to cover them before and behind; which skinnes are painted, some yellow and red, some blacke & russet, and every man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antike worke, as every man in his owne fancy deviseth, which painting, to make it continue the better, they use with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may have better hold. In their warres they use a sleighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themselves shew the more fierce; which after their warres ended, they wash away againe. In their warres they use bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kind of Yew, but blacker then ours, and for the most part passing the strength of the Negros or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours: their arrowes are also of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points, both in length and also for nocks and feathers, which the other lacke, whereby they shoot very stedy: the heads of the same are vipers teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of knives, which they having gotten of the French men, broke the same, & put the points of them in their arrowes head: some of them

The maner of kindling of fire in Florida.

have their heads of silver, othersome that have want of these, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as farre as any of the rest. In their fight, being in the woods, they use a marvellous pollicie for their owne safegard, which is by clasping a tree in their armes, and yet shooting notwithstanding: this policy they used with the French men in their fight, whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triste, that is to say, Bad people, meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity: yet have the French men found them so witty in their answeres, that by the captaines owne report, a counseller with us could not give a more profound reason.

The women also for their apparell use painted skinnes, but most of them gownes of mosse, somewhat longer then our mosse, which they sowe together artificially, and make the same surplesse wise, wearing their haire downe to their shoulders, like the Indians. In this river of May aforesayd, the captaine entring with his pinnesse, found a French ship of fourescore tun, and two pinnesses of fifteene tun a piece, by her, and speaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues up, which they had built, in which their captaine Monsieur Laudonniere was, with certeine souldiers therein. To whom our captaine sending to understand of a watering-place, where he might conveniently take it in, and to have licence for the same, he straight, because there was no convenient place but up the river five leagues, where the water was fresh, did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barks, which going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went; where hee was by the Generall, with other captaines and souldiers, very gently enterteined, who declared unto him the time of their being there, which was fourteene moneths, with the extremity they were driven to for want of victuals, having brought

The French fort. Monsieur Laudonniere.

very little with them; in which place they being two hundred men at their first comming, had in short space eaten all the maiz they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driven certeine of them to serve a king of the Floridians against other his enemies, for mill and other victuals: which having gotten, could not serve them, being so many, so long a time: but want came upon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed, to take away the bitternesse of them, they did use for bread, eating withall sundry times, roots, whereof they found many good and holesome, and such as serve rather for medecines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paines so much as to fish in the river before their doores, but would have all things pût in their mouthes, they did rebell against the captaine, taking away first his armour, and afterward imprisoning him: and so to the number of foure-score of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoiling their store of victuall, and taking away a great part thereof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola and Jamaica a roving, where they spoiled and pilled the Spanyards; and having taken two caravels laden with wine and casavi, which is a bread made of roots, and much other victuals and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such haughty stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborow in Jamaica, going dayly ashore at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such evill doers unpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a ship and galliasse being made out of Santa Domingo came thither into the harborow, and tooke twenty of them, whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest caried into Spaine, and some (to the number of five and twenty) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida; where at their landing they were

Bread made of akorns.

[III. 518.]

put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the souldiers, did passe the harquebuzers, and then were hanged upon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage and weakening to the rest, for they were the best souldiers that they had: for they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly craving of maiz, having no wares left to content them withall, and therefore were inforced to rob them, and to take away their victual perforce, which was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certeine of their company in the woods, and slew them; wherby there grew great warres betwixt them and the Frenchmen: and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but at such times as they were inforced thereunto for want of food to do the same: and going twenty harquebuzers in a company, were set upon by eighteene kings, having seven or eight hundred men, which with one of their bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, & drove them all downe to their boats; whose pollicy in fight was to be marvelled at: for having shot at divers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiving that their arrowes did not prevaile against the same, they shot at their faces and legs, which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in. Thus the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, having not above forty souldiers left unhurt, whereby they might ill make any more invasions upon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must have beene driven unto, had not God sent us thither for their succour; for they had not above ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meale, & foure pipes of beanes, with divers other victuals and necessaries which he might conveniently spare: and to helpe them the better homewards, whither they were bound before our comming, at their request

The occasion of the falling out with the Floridians.

The French greatly relieved by M. Hawkins.

we spared them one of our barks of fifty tun. Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would have taken paines to get the same; but they being souldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with the Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by weares which they made to catch the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the Frenchmen take the paines to make any more. The ground yeeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made 20 hogsheads of wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good, Deere marvellous store, with divers other beasts, and fowle, serviceable to the use of man. These be things wherewith a man may live, having corne or maiz wherewith to make bread: for maiz maketh good savory bread, and cakes as fine as flowre. Also it maketh good meale, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beverage, sodden in water, and nourishable; which the Frenchmen did use to drinke of in the morning, and it assuageth their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this maiz was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to sowe the same, and therfore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisit to have labourers to till and sowe the ground: for they having victuals of their owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may live not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall have abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of us, when we see another man ever taking away from us, although we have enough besides, yet then we thinke all too little for our selves: for surely we have heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians with the head of maiz rosted, will travell a whole

Twentie hogsheads of wine made in Florida, like to the wine of Orleans.

Labourers necessary to inhabit new countreys.

day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they give them nothing but sodden herbs & maiz: and in this order I saw threescore of them feed, who were laden with wares, and came fifty leagues off. The Floridians when they travell, have a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therwith they live foure or five dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen used for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water & fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are more then are yet knowen to any man: for besides the land it selfe, whereof there is more then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with medow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypres, and other sorts, as better can not be in the world. They have for apothecary herbs, trees, roots and gummes great store, as Storax liquida, Turpintine, Gumme, Myrrhe, and Frankinsence, with many others, whereof I know not the names. Colours both red, blacke, yellow, & russet, very perfect, wherewith they so paint their bodies, and Deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour. Golde and silver they want not: for at the Frenchmens first comming thither they had the same offered them for little or nothing, for they received for a hatchet two pound weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the souldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giving them nothing for it: the which they perceiving, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigorously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be knowen they had any more, neither durst they weare the same for feare of being taken away: so that saving at their first comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and silver the

Tobacco & the great vertue thereof.

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The variety of commodities in Florida.

Colours.

Golde and silver.

French men know not as yet, but by gesse, who having travelled to the Southwest of the cape, having found the same dangerous, by meanes of sundry banks, as we also have found the same: and there finding masts which were wracks of Spanyards comming from Mexico, judged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that divers wracks have beene made of Spanyards, having much treasure: for the Frenchmen having travelled to the capeward an hundred and fiftie miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they brought afterward to their fort, whereof one was in a caravel comming from the Indies, which was cast away foureteene yeeres ago, & the other twelve yeeres; of whose fellowes some escaped, othersome were slain by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of their golde & silver, for it is wrought flat and graven, which they weare about their neckes; othersome made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to boulster up their breasts withall, because they thinke it a deformity to have great breasts. As for mines either of gold or silver, the Frenchmen can heare of none they have upon the Island, but of copper, whereof as yet also they have not made the proofe, because they were but few men: but it is not unlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and silver aswell as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The Frenchmen obteined pearles of them of great bignesse, but they were blacke, by meanes of rosting of them, for they do not fish for them as the Spanyards doe, but for their meat: for the Spanyards use to keepe dayly afishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choise a thousand: and their order is to go in canoas, or rather great pinnesses, with thirty men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, or most part be divers, the rest doe open the same for the pearles: for it is not suffered that they should use dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beds of them. The oisters which have the smallest

Two Spanyards lived long among ye Floridians.

Pieces of Gold graven among ye Floridians.

Florida esteemed an Island.

This copper was found perfect golde, called by the Savages, Sycroa phyra.

Pearles.

sort of pearles are found in seven or eight fadome water, but the greatest in eleven or twelve fadome.

Unicornes hornes, which ye inhabitants call Souanamma.

The Floridians have pieces of unicornes hornes which they weare about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obteined many pieces. Of those unicornes they have many; for that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one horne, which comming to the river to drinke, putteth the same into the water before he drinketh. Of this unicornes horne there are of our company, that having gotten the same of the Frenchmen, brought home thereof to shew. It is therfore to be presupposed that there are more commodities aswell as that, which for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabit the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reveale the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shal take it in hand. Of beasts in this countrey besides deere, foxes, hares, polcats, conies, ownces, & leopards, I am not able certeinly to say: but it is thought that there are lions and tygres as well as unicornes; lions especially; if it be true that is sayd, of the enmity betweene them and the unicornes: for there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the cony the polcat, a sheepe the woolfe, the elephant the rinoceros; and so of other beasts the like: insomuch, that whereas the one is, the other can not be missing. And seeing I have made mention of the beasts of this countrey, it shall not be from my purpose to speake also of the venimous beasts, as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bignesse, whereof our men killed some of a yard and a halfe long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, upon the which a faulcon seizing, the sayd adder did claspe her tail about her; which the French captaine seeing, came to the rescue of the faulcon, and tooke her slaying the adder; and this faulcon being wilde, he did reclaim her, and kept her for the space of two moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to cast her off. On these adders the Frenchmen did feed, to no little admiration of us, and affirmed the

Beasts.

Faulcons in Florida.

same to be a delicate meat. And the captaine of the [III. 520.] Frenchmen saw also a serpent with three heads and foure feet, of the bignesse of a great spaniell, which for want of a harquebuz he durst not attempt to slay. Of fish also they have in the river, pike, roch, salmon, trout, and divers other small fishes, and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bignesse accordingly, having a snout much like a sword of a yard long. There be also of sea fishes, which we saw comming along the coast flying, which are of the bignesse of a smelt, the biggest sort whereof have foure wings, but the other have but two: of these wee sawe comming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chased by the gilt-heads, otherwise called the bonitos, do to avoid them the better, take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, because of the drying of their wings, which serve them not to flie but when they are moist, and therefore when they can flie no further they fall into the water, and having wet their wings, take a new flight againe. These bonitos be of bignesse like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not onely in the water, but also out of the water: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doeth this bonito leape after them, and taketh them sometimes above the water. There were some of those bonitos, which being galled by a fisgig, did follow our shippe comming out of Guinea 500. leagues. There is a sea-fowle also that chaseth this flying fish aswell as the bonito: for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowle pursue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleasure then hawking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often then an hundred times: for the fowle can flie no way, but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the number of them are so abundant. There is an innumerable yoong frie of these flying fishes, which commonly keepe about the ship, and are not so big as butter-flies,

Serpents.

Flying fishes.

and yet by flying do avoid the unsatiablenesse of the bonito. Of the bigger sort of these fishes wee tooke many, which both night and day flew into the sailes of our ship, and there was not one of them which was not woorth a bonito: for being put upon a hooke drabling in the water, the bonito would leap thereat, and so was taken. Also, we tooke many with a white cloth made fast to a hooke, which being tied so short in the water, that it might leape out and in, the greedie bonito thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and so is deceived. We tooke also dolphins *Dolphins.* which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold, and no lesse delicate in taste. Fowles also there be many, both upon land and upon sea: but concerning them on the land I am not able to name them, because my abode was there so short. But for the fowle of the fresh rivers, these two I noted to be the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, having all *Flemingo.* red feathers, and long red legs like a herne, a necke according to the bill, red, whereof the upper neb hangeth an inch over the nether; and an egript, which *The egript.* is all white as the swanne, with legs like to an hearnshaw, and of bignesse accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the estridge his feather. Of the sea-fowle above all other not common in England, I noted the pellicane, which *The pellicane.* is fained to be the lovingst bird that is; which rather then her yong should want, wil spare her heart bloud out of her belly: but for all this lovingnesse she is very deformed to beholde; for she is of colour russet: notwithstanding in Guinea I have seene of them as white as a swan, having legs like the same, and a body like a hearne, with a long necke, and a thick long beake, from the nether jaw whereof downe to the breast passeth a skinne of such a bignesse, as is able to receive a fish as big as ones thigh, and this her big throat and long bill doeth make her seem so ougly.

Here I have declared the estate of Florida, and the

commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may seeme unto some, by the meanes that the plenty of golde and silver, is not so abundant as in other places, that the cost bestowed upon the same will not be able to quit the charges: yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I have seene in other Islands of the Indians, where such increase of cattell hath bene, that of twelve head of beasts in five & twenty yeeres, did in the hides of them raise a thousand pound profit yerely, that the increase of cattel onely would raise profit sufficient for the same: for wee may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gaines in such short time, what would a greater do in many yeres? and surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breed of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Summer with us: which surely is not to be marvelled at, seeing the countrey standeth in so watery a climate: for once a day without faile they have a shower of raine; which by meanes of the countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more fervent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not the thing we all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaines, I doe therefore affirme the attempt thereof to be more requisit for a prince, who is of power able to go thorow with the same, rather then for any subject.

Meanes to reape a sufficient profit in Florida and Virginia.

From thence wee departed the 28 of July, upon our voyage homewards, having there all things as might be most convenient for our purpose: and tooke leave of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make as great speede after, as they could. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, wee prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with us, so that we were divers times (or rather the most part) in despaire of ever comming home, had not God of his goodnesse better

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provided for us, then our deserving. In which state of great miserie, wee were provoked to call upon him by fervent prayer, which mooved him to heare us, so that we had a prosperous winde, which did set us so farre shot, as to be upon the banke of Newfound land, on Saint Bartholomews eve, and we sounded therupon, finding ground at an hundred and thirty fadoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh codde-fish, which greatly relieved us: and being very glad thereof, the next day we departed, and had lingring little gales for the space of foure or five dayes, at the ende of which we sawe a couple of French shippes, and had of them so much fish as would serve us plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and silver, to the just value thereof, unto the chiefe owners of the saide shippes, but they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themselves to meete with such good intertainement at sea, as they had at our hands. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the twentieth of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall, God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of twentie persons in all the voyage, and with great profit to the venturers of the said voyage, as also to the whole realme, in bringing home both golde, silver, pearles and other jewels great store. His name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

Their arrivall in Padstow in the moneth of September, 1565.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M. John Hawkins.
M. John Chester, {sir William Chesters sonne.
M. Anthony Parkhurst.
M. Fitzwilliam.
M. Thomas Woorley.
M. Edward Lacie, {with divers others.

The Register and true accounts of all herein expressed hath beene approoved by me John Sparke the younger, who went upon the same voyage, and wrote the same.

The third troublesome voyage made with the Jesus of Lubeck, the Minion, and foure other ships, to the parts of Guinea, and the West Indies, in the yeeres 1567 and 1568 by M. John Hawkins.

THe ships departed from Plimmouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567 and had reasonable weather untill the seventh day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape Finister, there arose an extreme storme, which continued foure dayes, in such sort, that the fleete was dispersed, and all our great boats lost, and the Jesus our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serve the voyage: whereupon in the same storme we set our course homeward, determining to give over the voyage: but the eleventh day of the same moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the Ilands of the Canaries, where according to an order before prescribed, all our shippes before dispersed, met at one of those Ilands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of November, towards the coast of Guinea, and arrived at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of November: where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtaine some Negros, where we got but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their envenomed arrowes: and although in the beginning they seemed to be but small hurts, yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawen of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouthes shut some tenne dayes before they died, and after their wounds were whole; where I my selfe had one of the greatest

A storme.

Gomera.

Envenomed Arrows.

woundes, yet thankes be to God, escaped. From thence we past the time upon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence the rivers from Rio Grande, unto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Januarie, in which time we had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negros: yet notwithstanding the sicknesse of our men, and the late time of the yeere commanded us away: and thus having nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indias, I was with the rest of our company in consultation to goe to the coast of the Mine, hoping there to have obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to have defraied our charge. But even in that present instant, there came to us a Negro, sent from a king, oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise that as many Negros as by these warres might be obtained, aswell of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure: whereupon we concluded to give aide, and sent 120 of our men, which the 15 of Januarie, assaulted a towne of the Negros of our Allies adversaries, which had in it 8000 Inhabitants, being very strongly impaled and fenced after their manner, but it was so well defended, that our men prevailed not, but lost sixe men and fortie hurt: so that our men sent forthwith to me for more helpe: whereupon considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the king of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being covered with dry Palme leaves) obtained the towne, put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250 persons, men, women, & children, and by our friend the king of our side, there were taken 600 prisoners, whereof we hoped to have had our choise: but the Negro (in which nation is seldome or never found truth) meant nothing lesse: for that night he remooved his campe and prisoners, so that we were

[III. 522.]

A towne of 8000 negros taken.

No trueth in Negros.

faine to content us with those few which we had gotten our selves.

Now had we obtained between foure and five hundred Negros, wherwith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indies, and there, for our Negros, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to countervaile our charges with some gaines, wherunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more hard, then before hath bene accustomed till the 27 day of March, which day we had sight of an Iland, called Dominica, upon the coast of the West Indies, in fourteene degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards as we might, somewhat hardly, because the king had straightly commanded all his Governors in those parts, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with us: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, and courteous entertainement, from the Ile of Margarita unto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth the noting, saving at Capo de la Vela, in a towne called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearles) the treasurer who had the charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water, he had fortified his towne with divers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entered, and furnished himselfe with an hundred Hargabuziers, so that he thought by famine to have inforced us to have put a land our Negros: of which purpose he had not greatly failed, unlesse we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no meanes obtaine his favour) we were enforced to doe, and so with two hundred men brake in upon their bulwarkes, and entred the towne with the losse onely of two men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spaniards because after their voley of shot discharged, they all fled.

Dominica.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

Thus having the town with some circumstance, as

partly by the Spaniards desire of Negros, and partly by friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of 200 Negros: in all other places where we traded the Spaniards inhabitants were glad of us and traded willingly.

Cartagena. At Cartagena the last towne we thought to have seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spaniard, the governour was so straight, and because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to adventure any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24 of July, hoping to have escaped the time of their stormes which then soone after began to reigne, the which they call Furicanos, but passing by the West *Furicanos.* end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida there happened to us the 12 day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of foure dayes, which so beat the Jesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her rudder also was sore shaken, and withall was in so extreme a leake that we were rather upon the point to leave her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe, we sought the coast of Florida, where we found no place nor Haven for our ships, because of the shalownesse of the coast: thus being in greater dispaire, and taken with a newe storme *Storme.* which continued other 3 dayes, we were inforced to take for our succour the Port which serveth the citie of Mexico called Saint John de Ullua, which standeth in 19 degrees: in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way 3 ships which carried passengers to the number of an hundred, which passengers we hoped should be a meane to us the better to obtaine victuals for our money, & a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete. Shortly after this the 16 of September we entered the [III. 523.] Port of Saint John de Ullua and in our entrie the *Saint John de Ullua a Port.* Spaniardes thinking us to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboord us, which

The Spaniards deceived. being deceived of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediatly when they sawe our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found also in the same Port twelve ships which had in them by report two hundred thousand pound in gold & silver, all which (being in my possession, with the kings Iland as also the passengers before in my way thitherward stayed) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the waight of a groat: onely because I would not be delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was two hundred miles from us, to the Presidentes and Councell there, shewing them of our arrivall there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our *Our requests.* shippes and victuals, which wantes we required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidents and Councell there should with all convenient speede take order, that at the arrivall of the Spanish fleete, which was dayly looked for, there might no cause of quarrell rise betweene us and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commandement might be had in that behalfe. This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at night, being the very day of our arrivall, in the next morning which was the seventeenth day of the same moneth, we sawe open of the Haven thirteene great shippes, *The fleete of Spaine.* and understanding them to bee the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediatly to advertise the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to understand, that before I would suffer them to enter the Port, there should some order of conditions passe betweene us for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace. Now it is to *The maner of the Port S. John de Ullua.* be understood that this Port is made by a little Iland of stones not three foote above the water in the highest place, and but a bow-shoot of length any way, this Iland standeth from the maine land two bow shootes or more, also it is to be understood that there is not in all this coast any other place for ships to arrive in safety,

because the North winde hath there such violence, that unlesse the shippes be very safely mored with their ankers fastened upon this Iland, there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Haven was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboord the other, so that we could not give place to them, nor they to us: and here I beganne to bewaile that which after followed, for now, said I, I am in two dangers, and forced to receive the one of them. That was, either I must have kept out the fleete from entring the Port, the which with Gods helpe I was very well able to doe, or else suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they never faile to execute, where they may have opportunitie, to compasse it by any meanes: if I had kept them out, then had there bene present shipwracke of all the fleete which amounted in value to sixe Millions, which was in value of our money 1800000. li. which I considered I was not able to answere, fearing the Queenes Majesties indignation in so waightie a matter. Thus with my selfe revolving the doubts, I thought rather better to abide the Jutt of the uncertainty, then the certaintie. The uncertaine doubt I account was their treason which by good policie I hoped might be prevented, and therefore as chusing the least mischiefe I proceeded to conditions. Now was our first messenger come and returned from the fleete with report of the arrivall of a Viceroy, so that hee had authoritie, both in all this Province of Mexico (otherwise called Nueva Espanna) and in the sea, who sent us word that we should send our conditions, which of his part should (for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the Princes) be both favourably granted, and faithfully performed, with many faire wordes how passing the coast of the Indies he had understood of our honest behaviour towardes the inhabitants where we had to doe, aswell elsewhere as in the same Port, the which I let passe: thus following our demand, we required victuals for our money, and

North windes perilous.

1800 thousand pound.

A Viceroy.

Faire wordes beguiled.

Our requests.

licence to sell as much ware as might furnish our wants, and that there might be of either part twelve gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Iland for our better safetie might be in our owne possession, during our abode there, and such ordinance as was planted in the same Iland which were eleven peeces of brasse: and that no Spaniard might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon: these conditions at the first he somewhat misliked, chiefly the guard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had soone knowen our fare: for with the first North winde they had cut our cables and our ships had gone ashore: but in the ende he concluded to our request, bringing the twelve hostages to ten, which with all speede of either part were received, with a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hande and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blowen with commandement that none of either part should be meane to violate the peace upon paine of death: and further it was concluded that the two Generals of the fleetes should meete, and give faith ech to other for the performance of the premisses which was so done. Thus at the end of 3 dayes all was concluded & the fleete entered the Port, saluting one another as the maner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before, thursday we entred the Port, Friday we saw the fleete, and on munday at night they entered the Port: then we laboured 2. daies placing the English ships by themselves & the Spanish ships by themselves, the captaines of ech part & inferiour men of their parts promising great amity of al sides: which even as with all fidelitie it was ment on our part, so the Spaniards ment nothing lesse on their parts, but from the maine land had furnished themselves with a supply of men to the number of 1000, and ment the next thursday being the 23 of September at dinner time to set upon us on all sides. The same Thursday in the morning the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending

The peace concluded.

[III. 524.]

of ordinance from the ships to the Iland where our men warded, passing too and fro of companies of men more then required for their necessary busines, & many other ill likelihoods, which caused us to have a vehement suspition, and therewithall sent to the Viceroy to enquire what was ment by it, which sent immediatly straight commandement to unplant all things suspicious, and also sent word that he in the faith of a Viceroy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not satisfied with this answere, because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tunnes, which was mored next unto the Minion, sent againe to the Viceroy the master of the Jesus which had the Spanish tongue, and required to be satisfied if any such thing were or not. The Viceroy now seeing that the treason must be discovered, foorthwith stayed our master, blew the Trumpet, and of all sides set upon us: our men which warded a shore being stricken with sudden feare, gave place, fled, and sought to recover succour of the ships; the Spaniardes being before provided for the purpose landed in all places in multitudes from their ships which they might easily doe without boates, and slewe all our men a shore without mercie, a fewe of them escaped aboord the Jesus. The great ship which had by the estimation three hundred men placed in her secretly, immediatly fell aboord the Minion, but by Gods appointment, in the time of the suspicion we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the Minion was made readie to avoide, and so leesing her hedfasts, and hayling away by the sternefastes she was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe she defended the violence of the first brunt of these three hundred men. The Minion being past out, they came aboord the Jesus, which also with very much a doe and the losse of manie of our men were defended and kept out. Then there were also two other ships that assaulted the Jesus at the same instant, so that she had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cut our head-fastes and gotten out by the sterne-fastes. Nowe when the

A Viceroy false of his faith.

The treason brake foorth.

The Minion escaped hardly.

The Jesus escaped hardly.

Sharpe wars. Jesus and the Minion were gotten about two shippes length from the Spanish fleete, the fight beganne so hotte on all sides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spaniards was supposed to be sunke, their Viceadmirall

3. ships of the Spaniards consumed. burned and one other of their principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the shippes were little able to annoy us.

Then it is to be understood, that all the Ordinance upon the Ilande was in the Spaniardes handes, which did us so great annoyance, that it cut all the mastes and yardes of the Jesus, in such sort that there was no hope

A hard case. to carrie her away: also it sunke our small shippes, wereupon we determined to place the Jesus on that side of the Minion, that she might abide all the batterie from the land, and so be a defence for the Minion till night, and then to take such reliefe of victuall and other necessaries from the Jesus, as the time would suffer us, and to leave her. As we were thus determining, and had placed the Minion from the shot of the land, suddenly the Spaniards had fired two great shippes which were comming directly with us, and having no meanes to avoide the fire, it bredde among our men a marvellous feare, so that some sayd, let us depart with the Minion, other said, let us see whither the winde will carrie the fire from us. But to be short, the Minions men which had alwayes their sayles in a readinesse, thought to make sure worke, and so without either consent of the Captaine or Master cut their saile, so that very hardly I was received into the Minion.

The most part of the men that were left alive in the Jesus, made shift and followed the Minion in a small boat, the rest which the little boate was not able to receive, were inforced to abide the mercie of the Spaniards

Small hope to be had of tyrants. (which I doubt was very little) so with the Minion only and the Judith (a small barke of 50 tunne) we

A storme. escaped, which barke the same night forsooke us in our great miserie: we were now remooved with the Minion from the Spanish ships two bow-shootes, and there rode all that night: the next morning we recovered an Iland a mile from the Spaniardes, where there tooke us a North

winde, and being left onely with two ankers and two cables (for in this conflict we lost three cables and two ankers) we thought alwayes upon death which ever was present, but God preserved us to a longer time.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday we set saile, and having a great number of men and little victuals our hope of life waxed lesse and lesse: some desired to yeeld to the Spaniards, some rather desired to obtaine a place where they might give themselves to the Infidels, and some had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: so thus with many sorowful hearts we wandred in an unknowen Sea by the space of 14 dayes, till hunger inforced us to seek the land, for hides were thought very good meat, rats, cats, mice and dogs, none escaped that might be gotten, parrats and monkeyes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they served the turne one dinner: thus in the end the 8 day of October we came to the land in the botome of the same bay of Mexico in 23 degrees and a halfe, where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, reliefe of victuals, and place for the repaire of our ship, which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies and brused with shooting off our owne ordinance, that our wearie and weake armes were scarce able to defende and keepe out water. But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuall, nor haven of reliefe, but a place where having faire weather with some perill we might land a boat: our people being forced with hunger desired to be set on land, whereunto I consented.

[III. 525.] *Small hopes of life.*

Hard choice.

Miseries.

And such as were willing to land I put them apart, and such as were desirous to goe homewardes, I put apart, so that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one side and a hundred of the other side: these hundred men we set a land with all diligence in this little place beforesaid, which being landed, we determined there to take in fresh water, and so with our little remaine of victuals to take the sea.

An hundred men set on land in 23. deg. and a halfe.

The next day having a land with me fiftie of our

hundreth men that remained for the speedier preparing of our water aboord, there arose an extreame storme, so that in three dayes we could by no meanes repaire aboord our ship: the ship also was in such perill that every houre we looked for shipwracke.

The greatest miserie of all.

But yet God againe had mercie on us, and sent faire weather, we had aboord our water, and departed the sixteenth day of October, after which day we had faire and prosperous weather till the sixteenth day of November, which day God be praysed we were cleere from the coast of the Indies, and out of the chanell and gulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Lucayo. After this growing neere to the colde countrey, our men being oppressed with famine, died continually, and they that were left, grew into such weakenesse that we were scantly able to manage our shippe, and the winde being alwayes ill for us to recover England, we determined to goe with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relieve our companie and other extreame wantes. And being arrived the last day of December in a place neere unto Vigo called Ponte Vedra, our men with excesse of fresh meate grew into miserable disseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there were none of our men suffered to goe a land, yet by accesse of the Spaniards, our feeblenesse was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceased not to seeke by all meanes to betray us, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships and twelve fresh men, wherewith we repaired our wants as we might, and departing the 20 day of January 1568 arrived in Mounts bay in Cornewall the 25 of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a painefull man with his pen, and as great a time as he had that wrote the lives and deathes of the Martyrs. JOHN HAWKINS.

The first voyage attempted and set foorth by the expert and valiant captaine M. Francis Drake himselfe, with a ship called the Dragon, and another ship and a Pinnesse, to Nombre de Dios, and Dariene, about the yeere 1572, Written and recorded by one Lopez Vaz a Portugall borne in the citie of Elvas, in maner follow: which Portugale, with the discourse about him, was taken at the river of Plate by the ships set foorth by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586.

There was a certaine English man named Francis Drake, who having intelligence how the towne of Nombre de Dios in Nueva Espanna, had but small store of people remaining there, came on a night, and entred the Port with foure Pinnesses, and landed about 150 men, & leaving 70 men with a trumpet, in a Fort which was there, with the other 80 he entred the towne, without doing any harme, till he came to the market place, and [III. 526.] there discharged his calivers, & sounded a trumpet very loud, and the other which he had left in the Fort answered him after the same maner, with the discharging their calivers, and sounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any such matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their sleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter should be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that uprore was which happened so suddenly in the towne. But 14 or 15 of them joyning together with their harquebuzes, went to the market place to know what they were that were in the towne, and in a corner of the market place they did discover the Englishmen, and seeing them to be but fewe, discharged

their calivers at those Englishmen: their fortune was such that they killed the Trumpetter, and shot one of the principall men thorow the legge, who seeing himselfe hurt, retyred to the Fort, where the rest of their company was left: they which were in the Fort sounded their Trumpet, and seeing that they in the towne did not answere them, and hearing the calivers, thought that all they in the towne had bene slaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinnesses: the English captaine comming to the Fort, and not finding his men which he left there, he and his were in so great feare, that leaving their furniture behind them, and putting off their hose, they swamme, and waded all to their Pinnesses, and so went with their ships againe out of the Port.

Thus this English Captaine called Francis Drake, departed from Nombre de Dios, & slew onely one man in the towne which was looking out of a windowe to see what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter slaine.

The valiant exploit of M. Francis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

But he being discontented with the repulse which he had received there, came to the sound of Dariene, and having conference with certaine Negros which were fled from their masters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negros did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with gold and silver from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie of these Negros went thereupon on land, and stayed in the way where the treasure should come with an hundred shot, and so tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their drivers mistrusting nothing, and he carried away the gold onely, for they were not able to carrie the silver through the mountaines.

M. Francis Drake burnt the house of Crosses.

And two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, where he killed sixe or seven marchants, but found no golde nor silver but much marchandize: so he fired the house, where was burnt above 200000 Duckets in marchandize, and so went to his ship againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a ship-boord, there came downe to the sandes three hundred shot of the Spaniards

in the sight of his ships, of purpose to seeke him, but he cared little for them being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

The voyage of John Oxnam of Plimmouth, to the west India, and over the straight of Dariene into the South sea. Anno 1575. Written by the foresaid Lopez Vaz in the said discourse.

THere was another Englishman, who hearing of the spoyle that Francis Drake had done upon the coast of Nueva Espanna, and of his good adventure and safe returne home, was thereby provoked to undertake the like enterprise, with a ship of 140 tunnes, and 70 men, and came thither, and had also conference with the foresaide Negros: and hearing that the golde and silver which came upon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was now conducted with souldiers, he determined to do that which never any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negros. This man covered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and so not leaving any man in his ship, he tooke two small pieces of ordinance, and his calivers, and good store of victuals, and so went with the Negros about twelve leagues into the maine land, to a river that goeth to the South sea, and there he cut wood and made a Pinnesse, which was five and fortie foote by the keele, and having made this Pinnesse, he went into the South sea, carrying sixe Negros with him to be his guides, and so went to the Iland of Pearles, which is five & twentie leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without shewing himselfe to any man, to

The Iland of pearles 25. leagues from Panama.

see if he might get any ship that came from Peru: At last there came a small Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke and found in her sixtie thousand pezos of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himselfe with this prize, hee stayed long without sending away his prize or any of the men, and in the ende of sixe dayes after, hee tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke an hundred thousand pezos of silver in barres, with the [III. 527.] which hee thought to have gone, & entred the river, but first he went into the Islands to see if he could find any pearles: where he found a few, and so returned to his pinnesse againe, & so sailing to the river from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the sayd river, hee sent away the two prizes that hee tooke, and with his pinnesse he went up the river. The Negros that dwelt in the Island of pearls, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Governour within two dayes sent foure barkes 100 men, 25 in every one, and Negros to rowe with the captaine John de Ortega, which went to the Island of pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the English men were gone, and following them he met by the way the ships which the English men had taken, of whom he learned, that the English men were gone up the river, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the river, the captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions in the river to goe up in, and being determined to goe up the greatest of the three rivers, he saw comming downe a lesser river many feathers of hennes, which the Englishmen had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, hee went up that river where hee saw the feathers, and after that he had bene in that river foure daies, he descried the Englishmens pinnesse upon the sands, and comming to her, there were no more then sixe Englishmen, whereof they killed one, and the other five escaped away, and in the pinnesse he found

nothing but victuals: but this captaine of Panama not herewith satisfied, determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leaving twenty men in his pinnesses, hee with 80 shot went up the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a house made of boughs, where they found all the Englishmens goods, and the gold and silver also, and carying it backe to their pinnesses, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the English men any further.

A skirmish between the English men, and the Spaniards.

But at the end of three dayes, the English captaine came to the river with all his men, and above 200 Negros, and set upon the Spaniards with great fury: But the Spaniards having the advantage of trees which they stood behind, did easily prevaile, and killed eleven Englishmen, and five Negros, and tooke other seven Englishmen alive, but of the Spaniards, two were slaine and five sore hurt.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Englishmen which they tooke, why they went not away in fifteene dayes liberty which they had. They answered, that their captaine had commanded them to carie all that golde and silver which they had, to the place where they had left their shippe, and they had promised him to carie it, although they made three or foure journeys of it, for hee promised to give them part of it besides their wages, but the mariners would have it by and by, and so their Captaine being angry because they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in so much that one of the company would have killed the Captaine, so that the Captaine would not have them to carie the treasure, but sayd hee would seeke Negros to carie it, and so he went and sought for Negros, and bringing those Negros to carie it, hee met with the five English men that hee had left in his pinnesse which ranne from the Spaniards, and the rest also which ran from the house, and they told him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendship with all his men, hee promised them halfe of all the treasure if they got

it from the Spaniards, and the Negros promised to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and thereupon they came to seeke the Spaniards, and now that some of his company were killed and taken, hee thought it best to returne to his ship, and to passe backe for England. The Spanish captaine hearing this, having buried the dead bodies, and having gotten all things into his barkes, and taking the English men and their pinnesse with him, he returned to Panama: so the voyage of that English man did not prosper with him, as hee thought it would have done.

Nowe when the foure barkes were come to Panama, they sent advise also to Nombre de dios, and they of Nombre de dios sent also from them other foure barkes which (as the Spaniards say) found the English ship where she was hid, and brought her to Nombre de dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru not thinking it good to suffer fiftie English men to remaine in the countrey, sent a servant of his called Diego de Frees, with a hundreth and fifty shot into the mountaines to seeke them out, who found them making of certaine Canoas to goe into the North sea, and there to take some barke or other: some of them were sicke, and were taken, and the rest fled with the Negros, who in the end betrayed them to the Spaniards, so that they were brought to Panama. And the Justice of Panama asked the English captaine whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lord for his attempt. And he answered he had none, whereupon hee and all his company were condemned to dye, and so were all executed, saving the Captaine, the Master, the Pilot, and five boyes which were caried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet living.

The English betrayed to the Spaniards.

The death of John Oxnam.

[III. 528.] The King of Spaine having intelligence of these matters, sent 300 men of warre against those Negros which had assisted those English men, which before were slaves unto the Spaniards, and as before is sayd,

fled from their masters unto those mountaines, and so joyned themselves to the Englishmen, to the ende they might the better revenge themselves on the Spaniards.

At the first comming of these 300 souldiers, they tooke many of the Negros, and executed great justice upon them: But after a season, the Negros grew wise and wary, and prevented the Spaniards, so that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that country marveiled much at this one thing, to see that since the conquering of this land, there have bene many Frenchmen, that have come to those Countreys, but never saw English men there but onely those two of whom I have spoken. And although there have many Frenchmen bene on the coast, yet never durst they put foote upon land, only those two English men adventured it, and did such exploits, as are before remembred.

The English mens comming to the Indies, caused the king of Spaine to build gallies to keepe the Seas.

All these things comming to the hearing of the king of Spaine, he provided two Gallies well appointed to keepe those coastes: and the first yeere they tooke sixe or seven French ships. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Englishmen or Frenchmen of warre that durst adventure to approch the coast, untill this present yeere 1586, that the aforesayd Francis Drake, with a strong fleete of 24 ships arrived there, and made spoile of Santo Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Augustine, things that are knowen to all the worlde. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine live, he will in time provide sufficient remedy, to keepe his countreys and subjects from the invasion of other nations.

[The voyage

The voyage of Master Andrew Barker of Bristol, with two ships, the one called the Ragged staffe, the other the Beare, to the coast of Terra firma, and the Bay of Honduras in the West Indies, in the yeere 1576. Wherein the reasons are premised which mooved him to set forth this voyage against the Spaniards: collected out of certaine notes and examinations touching this enterprise by M. Richard Hakluyt.

Irst of all Andrew Barker having abode in one of the Canary Islands called Tenerif for a certaine time, and returning home left behind him Charles Chester (the sonne of Dominic Chester merchant of Bristol) to learn the language. Now the sayd Andrew Barker forthwith upon his arrivall in England, in November, 1574, fraighted a small ship (named the Speedwell of Bristol) to goe for the Canaries with cloth and other merchandise of a great value. He sent also one John Drue of Bastable as his Factor to make sale and dispose of the said goods, who when he arrived at Tenerif, landed the marchandize, and sent home the barke with some small quantity of wine, making account to sell the sayd wares to greater advantage in providing wines and sugar for the lading of another ship, which Andrew Barker had appointed to send thither. Also according to this his purpose the said Andrew in March following sent a ship called the Christopher of Dartmouth, captaine whereof was one Henry Roberts of Bristol: who when he had landed in Tenerif, & was in good hope to find the lading of his ship in a readines, contrary to his expectation, was suddenly cast into prison: the Spaniards alleaging that Andrew Barker was accused to the inquisition by Charles

Chester, whereupon his goods were confiscat, his factor John Drue was attached, and he also (the said captaine Roberts) being as they supposed Barkers partner, was in like sort to be imprisoned. In fine all the foresaid commodities appertaining to the said Andrew and his brother M. John Barker and others to the value of 1700 pound and upwards (as it doth appeare by proofes of record in the Admiralty) were utterly lost, being confiscat to the said inquisition. Howbeit captaine Roberts by the meanes of a frier was delivered out of prison (which cost him all the marchandize he brought with him in his ship) and so returned with dead fraight to the summe of 200 pound that afterwards Andrew Barker discharged. In recompense of which injurie (for that no suite prevaileth against the inquisition of Spaine) & also to recover his losse of the Spaniards themselves, at his owne charge with the help of his friends hee furnished two barkes for the West Indies, the greater of which barkes was called the Ragged staffe, himselfe being captaine, & Philip Roche Master thereof, the other named the Beare had one William Coxe of Limehouse for her Master and captaine. And thus all our company being imbarked at Plimmoth on Whitsonday in the beginning of June, we set forward, & in our course we met with a ship of London, & afterwards with another ship, but tooke nothing from either of them. Our first arrival was at one of the Island of Cape Verde, named Del sal, vz. the Isle of salt, where we tooke certain fishes called Tortoises: and there we remained one night and halfe the day following. And from thence wee came to the Isle of Maio, being distant from Isla del sal, 14 or 15 leagues, where we tooke in fresh water and traffiqued with certaine Portugals inhabiting in that place, of whom we had some victuals for knives and beades: and there we remained one day and one night: but our trumpetter was trecherously slaine by those Portugals, in revenge of which murther we set on fire two of their small villages. From this Island

Isla del sal.

[III. 529.]

The Isle of Maio.

Two villages burnt.

wee shaped our course over the maine Ocean toward
The Isle of Trinidad. the West Indies, and arrived happily at the Island of Trinidad, and had conference with certaine Indians inhabitants thereof, who gave us very friendly and courteous entertainement: and here we set up a pinnesse which we caried forth in the Ragged staffe, and traffiqued with the foresayd Indians for victuals. And after we had spent sixe dayes in this place we
The Isle of Margarita. departed, and arrived next at the Isle of Margarita, where we tooke a small Spanish ship having in her certaine pitch and 30 tuns of Canarie wines whereof we reserved 4 or 5 tunnes to our selves, dismissing them without any further damage. Thence (having
The Isle of Curazao. remained there a day) wee set saile to the Island of Curazao, where we remained a day & a night, & tooke in fresh water, at what time by the inhabitants of that Island (being few of them Spaniards, & the most part Indians) 14 of our men were treacherously hurt, but none slaine. And from thence we departed for the maine land Southwards, to a certain bay, and there we abode 3 daies, but nothing of any reckoning was
Cape de la Vela. there atchieved. From thence we arrived at Cape de la Vela, where grewe a contention betweene our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, and his Master Philip Roche, upon comparisons made betweene them concerning the knowledge of Navigation, and about other quarels, which quarels afterward were an occasion of further mischiefe.
Tulu. Hence we sailed to the bay of Tulu (which is about 18 leagues Southwestward from Carthagena) where wee tooke a Frigat and certaine treasure therein to the value of 500 pound, namely barres of gold, and lingots of silver, and some quantity of corriento or coyne in rials of plate, and certaine greene stones called Emerauds, whereof one very great, being set in gold, was found tied secretly about the thigh of a frier. Here having stayed three dayes, and now being pursued by Spanish men of warre, wee departed with the sayd treasure, and left the Frigat behind us, all

which treasure at that instant was committed to the keeping of our captaine Andrew Barker. From thence we passed to Nombre de dios, and so foorth to the mouth of the river of Chagre 18 leagues distant from Nombre de dios towards the Northwest. There wee landed 10 of our men, who travelled up into the woods three or foure daies to seeke the Simerons, (which are certaine valiant Negros fled from their cruel masters the Spaniards, and are become mortall enemies, ready to joyne with the English and French against them) but in their search they could find none of them. And though our men returned all free from peril of the enemie, yet the most part of the sayd ten persons presently fell sicke, and divers other of our company: so that within 14 dayes 8 or 9 of our men died of a disease called there the Calentura, which is a hote and vehement fever. And passing betweene Chagre and Veragua, we tooke a Frigat, and some quantity of golde wee found therein. In this Frigat were 23 Spaniards whom wee set on shore, and two Flemings, them wee brought into England with us: wee had therein also foure cast pieces of Ordinance, 3 harquebuzes on crocke, 16 Spanish calivers, and a booke of Navigation: and in this Frigat some of our company came homeward into England. Thus passing forward in our course, we came to Veragua, where captaine Barker, & Philip Roche his Master, fought upon the foresayd quarel, in which combat the captaine was hurt a little in the cheeke. Here we sanke our Admirall the Ragged staffe, because of her great leakage, and imbarked part of our company in the Spanish Frigat, which immediately before we had surprised. From hence (by the direction of certain Indians) we sayled into the gulfe of the Honduras: there we tooke a barke wherin were rials of plate, to the value of 100 pound, Maiz or Indian wheat, hennes, beefe and other small things. In this barke also were certaine Spaniards, whereof one was the Scrivano or

Nombre de dios.

Simerons rebels to the Spaniards.

Veragua.

The bay of Honduras.

secretary of Carthagena, who (being a man of some note) was put to his ransome, which was payd in gold: the rest were dismissed freely. And after passing by divers Islands, we arrived at an Island called S. Francisco, being in the mouth of the great bay, called the Honduras. And within two dayes next after our arrivall there, William Coxe and divers others (which for certaine causes shalbe namelesse) came aboord the ship wherein the captaine then was, and disposessed him as well of the sayd ship, as of the treasure in the same, and forthwith put our captaine with violence on shore, where he and one Germane Weiborne fought together, and were both wounded. After this our captaine desirous to come on boord, was resisted by the persons aforesayd, who answered him that he should not come on boord till they were ready to depart. Our men had appointed ten persons of their company for the keeping of this Island of S. Francisco: but about breake of the day, on a certaine morning, sixtie Spaniards arriving secretly in the Island, surprised our people on the sudden, what time there were thirtie of our men on shore: in which surprise they slew our captaine, M. Andrew Barker with eight others, namely, one Wilde of Bristol, and Michael our Chirurgian, Richard of Bristol, Thomas Sampoole, Thomas Freeman, Thomas Nightingale, Robert Jackson, Walter Newton; and the captaines boy and one other were hurt. Now after that William Coxe, and the rest (which were aboord the barke) perceived that the captaine, & some others were slain, he received them that were living into the ship, having before that time refused some of them. After this misfortune they went to an Island distant from thence a league, where Coxe devided a chaine of gold (which was found in the captaines chest after his death) amongst the company. After this Coxe went in a pinesse (which wee tooke at the Isle of Sant Francisco) with certaine others of our men in a skyffe, to the towne of Truxillio, in the bay of Honduras,

The Isle of S. Francisco.

A conspiracie against the Captaine.

[III. 530.]

M. Andrew Barker and 8 other slaine by the Spaniards.

The towne of Truxillo sacked by the English.

which towne they surprised, and had therein wine and oyle as much as they would, and divers other good things, but no gold nor silver, nor any other treasure which they would confesse. But before they could returne to their company, those that were in the barkes were had in chase by men of warre, whereby they were inforced every man to shift for himselfe: so for haste they left those that were in the skiffe (being 8 persons) in the bay of Honduras: what became of them afterward God knoweth. Hereupon we determined to saile for England, and being in the maine sea homeward bound, about 60 leagues from the Isle of S. Francisco, the Frigat wherein was the treasure for the adventurers, and that which pertained to the captaine to the value of 2000 pound, being overset with sayle, with a flaw of wind was overthrowen, and all the goods therein perished: therein also were 14 persons drowned, and nine saved, whereof William Coxe and William Gillam were two. After this Philip Roche, Master of the Admirall called the Ragged staffe, died. And thus at length, (by the helpe of God) we arrived in the Isle of Silly neere Cornwall where we left our Frigat which we built new upon the shore of the Honduras, having in her at our landing ten botisios of oyle, and the foure cast Peeces that were in John Oxnams Frigat (which the yeere before was taken in the streit of Dariene) three harquebuzes on crocke, certaine calivers, and certaine treasure: Where William Cox and Andrew Browne devided the treasure amongst their company, delivering to some five pound, to some sixe pound, to some seven pound, to some more, as every man was thought to have deserved. The barke and the rest of the Ordinance was left in the Island, to the use of Andrew Browne. Divers of our company, upon our arrivall at Plimmouth were committed to prison at the suite of M. John Barker of Bristol, brother unto our Captaine M. Andrew Barker, as accessaries to our captains death, and betrayers of him unto the enemie.

The death of Philip Roche master of the Ragged staffe. Their arrival in the Isle of Sillie.

Certaine Ordinance of John Oxnam recovered from the Spaniards.

And after straight examination of many of us, by letters of direction from her Majesties privie Counsell, the chiefe malefactors were onely chastised with long imprisonment, where indeede before God they had deserved to die: whereof some, although they escaped the rigor of mans law, yet could they not avoide the heavy judgement of God, but shortly after came to miserable ends. Which may be example to others to shew themselves faithfull and obedient in all honest causes to their captaines and governours.

Parescer de Don Alvaro Baçan, marques de Santa Cruz, tocante la Armada de Francisco Draque, estando en las yslas de Vayona: Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre, estilo de Espanna de 1585.

LO que paresce, que podra hazer el Armada Inglese, en caso que quiere passar a las Indias, y entrar en el mar del Sur, (como lo ha hecho otra vez Francisco Draque) con las treynta y dos naves y galeones, y muchas lanchas y vergantines deremo que trae, y cinco mil hombres de guerra, que es el numero que a los de Vayona parescio que venian en el armada, es lo siguiente.

Levera su derotta al Rio de Jenero, que es en la costa del Brasil en 23 grados de la parte del Sur de la Linea. Es puerto capaz de muchos navios y muy seguro, adonde se tiene agua, lenna, y carne: y tam bien podra tomar harina de Maiz en un lugar dos o tres leguas del dicho puerto, que se dize San Vincente. Y por ser camino per las islas de la Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde, podra saquear estas islas, dandole el tiempo lugar a ello.

San Vincente.

Islas de Madera, Canaria, y Cabo Verde.

Desde Vaiona a la isla de Madera con los vientos Nortes, que aora correran (passados los vientos de Vallee,

que aora reynan, por estar la costa de Espanna llovida) yra la Armada en seis dias; de alli a las Canarias en quatro, y de las Canarias a Cabo verde en ocho, que son per todos diez y ocho dias: y tardera mas lo que se tuviere en saquear las islas.

Rio de Jenero.

De Cabo Verde al rio de Jenero tardera quarenta dias, que vernan a ser todos dos meses: por manera, que estando el Armada todo este mes en Galicia, podra ser en el rio de Jenero en fin de Deziembre.

[III. 531.]

Lugar por hazer un fuerte.

A la entrada de la baia del Rio de Jenero ay una baxa, adonde con facilidad se hara un fuerte, en que pueden estar mas que quinientos hombres: y ponendole su artilleria, guardera el puerto, y el fuerte quedara assalado, que por la una parte del sudueste y nordeste tiene los dos canales, por donde entran los navios en el puerto: En el qual podra Francisco Draque concertar su Armada, y dexar alli alguna gente, y partir con la que le paresciere, para entrar en el Mar del Sur, y yr en seguimiento de su viaje al Estrecho de Magallanes (que es quinientas y cinquenta leguas de a quel puerto, y esta en cinquenta y dos grados y medio de parte del Sur) y entrar por el Estrecho a la Mar del Sur por todo el mes de Febrero; y yr a la ciudad de los Reys o Lima, que esta en la costa, y es de dos mil vezinos: y por no ser gente de guerra, ni puesta en milicia, y lugar abierto sin fortaleza, ni artilleria, le podra tomar y saquear, y yr se apoderando de la tierra; pues tomando los navios, que ay en aquella mar, no les podra entrar socorro de Espanna.

Estrecho de Magallanes.

Mar del sur.

Lima es ciudad de dos mil vezinos, pero facil a tomar.

Panama.

Y es de creer que se preverra a tomar a Panama.

La segunda viaje.

San Domingo.

Cartagena.

Rio de Chagre.

No queriendo hazer este viaje, repartira su armada en dos vandas, y saqueare la isla de San Domingo, Puerto Rico, y la costa de Tierra firma, hasta Cartagena y Nombre de Dios. Y desde el rio de Chagre, que es xv. leguas de Nombre de Dios, podra meter la Infanteria en lanchas de remo, y en las varcas de carga y descarga en a quel rio, que son mas de cinquenta, y llegar hasta la Venta de Cruzes, que es cinco leguas de Panama, que, por ser lugar abierto, sera facil a saquear.

Panama lugar abierto y facil a saquear.

La Havana. Y tambien corre peligro la Havana ; que aunque tiene fortaleza, es chica y flaca, y sacando artilleria en tierra, la tomaran con facilidad.

Y de mas de los dannos que podran hazer, conforme a este discorso, no sera el menor, cortar el hilo a la navigacion de las Indias, a tomar las flotas, si alli fueren.

Tomar las flotas.

Lo que Convernia hazer para reparar estos dannos.

DEspachar caravelas con grandissima diligencia a los virreys y governadores de las Indias, avertiendo les de la Nueva de la Armada Inglese, para que esten prevenidos, y se ponganen orden. Aunque, segun el numero de las Naves que han salido de Inglatierra, tengo por sin duda, havran passado de aquellas partes alguna banda dellas, hasta Tierra nueva. Porque la Reyna a tenido cuidado de embiar y tomar las naos de la Pesqueria del Baccalao : Y assi es de creer sin duda lo de las Indias.

Y teniendo se consideracion a que, por lo que se intiende de Inglatierra, han solido mas de ochenta navios con los de Armada : Convernia que su Magestad mandasse juntar otra para buscar la Inglese, y combatir con ella, ordinando que los galeones que tiene la corona deste Reino, y los que tiene su Magestad en el Rio de Sevilla se aderescan de yr opposito, dandoles carena, para che estubiessen a punto a qualquier viaje, por largo que fuesse : y que assi mismo se embaraçe un galeon del Duque de Florencia, que esta muy bien armado y artillado, y a partido de Alicante ara Cadiz, y complimiento hasta quarenta naos gruesas, que se hallaran en Viscaia y Guiposcoa : y que adereçadas, artilladas, y puestas en orden, como conviene, se avituallen por ocho meses, y que desde luego se levanten hasta mil marineros de Catalunna y Genoa para departir en las naves, y se trayen, como se hizo para la armada de la Terçera : y que assi mismo se levanten seys mil

Quarenta naos gruesas.

soldados, dando condutas para mas gente, que esta, para que aya este numero de servicio.

Tambien convernia, que de Viscaia venga para esta Armada 20 patazes, y veynte Azabras de Castro. Que las patazes sean de 50 hasta 60 toneladas : y las Azabras, como las que vinieran a la Jornada de la Terçera.

Que se porvea el artilleria, polvera, y cuerda, y plomo necessario, arcabuzes, mosquetas, y picas de respito para la guardia de la costa.

Converne hazer otra armada de dos naos cada 400 toneladas, y otras quatro de a dozientas, y quatro patazes, y mil soldados, de mas de la gente de mar.

Aviendo visto y considerado, que en dos meses han hecho tantos dannos los Ingleses con los navios de mercantes que navegan por estos mares, y que es de creer que haran lo mismo en las flotas que fueren y vinieren de las Indias, convernia, que, como para la ordenança en tiempo de paz, lleva la armada las naos Capitana y Almirante, que llevassen aora otras dos mas por lo menos en cada flota : y no por esto se ha de dexar de asegurar las con Armada.

Todas estas prevenciones, me paresce, se deuen hazer, para solo lo que toca la Armada Inglese, y otros navios que han salido de aquel Reyno.

Pero en caso que Don Antonio Veniese con la Armada, y quisiese intentar lo d'este Reyno, seran menester las prevenciones siguientes. [III. 532.]

QUe se apercibiesen el conde de Benavente, Marques de Soria, conde de Altamira, conde de Monte Rey, Marques de Cerraluo, y los de mas Sennores y Cavalleros, a quien se dio orden que estubiesen a punto, quando se vino a este Reyno.

Que se exercibiese tam bien la gente de las Ciudades de Toro, Zamora, Salamanca, cuidar para socorrer a la parte dentro Doro y Minno. Y las de Estremadura y Sevilla para socorrer esta Ciudad de Lisbona, y su Comarca.

Que se avituallen los castillos desta ciudad, ribera, y comarca, y provean de polvere, cuerda, y plomo, y lo demas tocante el artilleria, como lo he pedido en las relaciones, que he embiado a su Magestad en 7 de março deste anno 1585. Que se provean las galeras por quatro meses: y vengan otras seys de Espanna a este Rio con 120 soldados por galera, para que los pueden repartir, en las ocho que estan aca. Y en caso que esto se ay, que le armada Inglesa no passe a las Indias, y se ocupen en lo deste Reyno, porque havre navios de Ingleses, que acuden a lo uno y a lo otro, sera forçoso hazer otra armada para lo de las Indias, de doze naos, quatro patajes, y mil y quinjentos soldados.

Todo esto, me paresce, conviene al servicio de su Majestad, se prevega y apercibiese con mucha diligencia y cuidado, proveiendo del dinero necessario para ello, sin que se aguarde lo uno a lo otro, sino que todo se haga sin deserirlo: Remitiendo me en todo a mejor parescer. Hecha en Lisboa a 26 de Otubre de 1585. Annos.

The opinion of Don Alvaro Baçan, Marques of Santa Cruz, and high Admirall of Spaine, touching the armie of sir Francis Drake lying at the Isles of Bayona in Galicia, written in Lisbon the 26 of October after the account of Spaine in the yere 1585.

THat which it seemeth unto me, that the English army may doe, if they seeke to passe unto the West Indies, and enter into the South sea (as Francis Drake hath done once before) with their thirty ships and galeons, and many pinnesses and shalops with oares, which they have with them, and 5000 men of warre, which they of Bayona thinke to be in the fleete, is as followeth.

The damage which may be done by passing by the river of Jenero into the South sea.

They may take their course to the river of Jenero, which is on the coast of Brasil in 23 degrees to the

South of the Equinoctial line. It is an haven capable of many ships and very safe, where there is water, wood and flesh: and likewise Drake may have corne of Maiz in a towne two or three leagues from the sayd haven, which is called S. Vincente.

And because the course is by the Isles of Madera, the Canaries, and Cape verde, he may sacke those Islands, the time serving him for that purpose.

Madera. From Bayona to the Isle of Madera, with the Northerne winds which now wil begin to blow, when the Westerne winds be past, which presently doe blowe because that it beginneth to raine on the coast of Spaine, the fleete may run in 6 daies, and from thence to the Canaries *Canaries.* in foure, and from the Canaries to the Isles of Cape *The Isles of Cape Verde.* Verde in eight, which all together make eighteene dayes: and he may stay as much time more as shall serve him to sacke the Islands in.

The river of Jenero. He may saile from Cape Verde to the river of Jenero in 40 dayes, which in the whole amount unto two moneths. So that the fleete remaining all this moneth of October on the coast of Galicia, it may come to the river of Jenero in the end of December.

A fort may bee builded on an Island in the mouth of the river of Jenero. At the entry of the bay of the river of Jenero there is a flat low Island where a fort may very easily be made, wherein above 500 men may be left: and placing his artillery therein, he may keepe the haven, & the fort wil be able to hold out all assault, because that on the Southwest and Northeast sides are two chanels whereby the ships come into the haven: wherein Francis Drake may repaire his army, and leave there some people, and depart with so much of the rest as shal seeme good unto him to enter into the South sea, & go on upon his voyage to the streight of Magelan, which is 550 leagues from the foresaid haven, and standeth in 52 degrees & a halfe toward the South, and may enter by the streight into the South sea all the moneth of February, & so may to goe to the citie of Lima, otherwise called the citie de los Reys, which standeth on the sea coast

The streight of Magelan. The citie of Lima easie to bee taken, though it have 2000 inhabitants.

having two thousand inhabitants in it. But in respect that they be no warlike people nor exercised in armes, and because the place is open and without fortresse & artillery, he may take and sacke it, and make himself master on the land, & afterward taking those ships which are in that sea, our people can have no succour of ships out of Spaine, but by the streight of Magelan, which is a long way about.

The ships in the South sea may be burnt.

Panama may be taken.

It is also very credible that he will be able to take Panama.

The second course which indeede Drake tooke.

If he seeke not to take this course he may divide his army into two parts, & sacke the Isle of S. Domingo, Puerto Rico, the coast of Tierra firma unto Cartagena and Nombre de Dios.

[III. 533.]

And from the river of Chagre, which is fifteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, he may send his footemen in shalops with oares and in the vessels which carrie goods up and downe the river, whereof there are above fiftie there, and passe up to the lodging of the Crosses, called in Spanish Venta de Cruzes, which is five leagues from Panama, which because it is an unwalled towne may easily be taken.

Panama being an open place is easie to be taken.

And Havana also will bee in great danger, which albeit it have a fortresse, yet it is but little and weake, and bringing his great ordinance on shore hee may take the same with great facilitie.

Havana easie to be taken.

And besides these domages which he may do, according to this discourse, it will not be the least to cut off the navigation of the Indies, to take the West Indian fleet, if they chance to be there.

The Indian fleete may be taken.

What course is to be taken to prevent these mischiefes.

TO dispatch Caravels with all possible diligence to the viceroyes and governours of the Indias, advertising them of the newes of the English army, that they may be provided, and make themselves ready for them. Albeit, considering the number of ships which have bene set

A.D. 1585.

foorth out of England, I assure my selfe, that some part of them are gone out of those parts unto Newfoundland. For the Queene hath taken carefull order to send to intercept the ships of the fishermen that goe to Baccalaos. And it is likewise to be thought that shee hath done the like for the intercepting of the fleet of the Indies.

Sir Barnard Drake tooke 17. sailes of the Spanish and Portugall fishers returning from Newfoundland, 1585.

And considering that according to our intelligence out of England, above fourescore shippes, and the army of Drake have bene set foorth from thence, it is meete that his majestie should prepare another army to seeke the English fleete, and to fight with it, commanding that the Galeons which belong to the crowne of Portugall, and those of his majestie which lye in the river of Sivill bee prepared to send against them, and to give them the Carena, that they may bee in a readinesse for any voyage howe long soever it bee: And likewise to arrest a Galeon of the Duke of Florence, which is very well armed and furnished with great ordinance, and passed lately from Alicante toward Cadiz, and to make up the number of fortie great shippes, which are to be had in Biscay and Guipuscoa: and that beeing rigged, armed and set in good order, they bee victualled for eight moneths, and that foorthwith there bee levied a thousand mariners of Catalunna and Genoa to bee divided among the Fleete, and bee conducted, as they were for the Fleete of Terçera: furthermore that sixe thousande souldiers bee levied, giving commaundement to presse a greater number, to the ende that these may bee able men for service.

His intelligence was too true, as since I found in the office of the Admiralty.

Fortie great ships to be provided.

1583. *Terzera was won by the Marques of Santa Cruz.*

Moreover it is needfull for this armie that 20. pataches be brought from Biscay, and 20. Azabras from Castro. That the pataches bee from 50. to 60. tunnes: and that the Azabras bee like those which were in the expedition to Terçera.

That sufficient provision be made of artillerie, powder, match, and lead, and harquebuzes, muskets, and chosen pikes for the keeping of the coast.

It is also meete to provide another army of two ships of 400. tunnes apiece, and other foure of 200. tunnes,

Another army of ten sailes.

and foure pataches and a thousand souldiers, besides mariners.

The Indian fleete to be strengthened with 4. ships of warre.

Having seene and considered that the Englishmen with their marchants ships onely that traverse these seas have made such havocke in two moneths, and that it is to bee thought that they will doe the like against the fleetes which goe and come from the Indies: it is expedient, that as by order in time of peace the fleete hath an Admirall and Viceadmirall, that now it should have two more at the least in eche Fleete: and neverthelesse they are to bee wafted home with an armie.

In mine opinion all these provisions ought to bee made onely in regard of the English army, and the rest of the ships which have bene set out of that kingdome.

But in case that Don Antonio should come with an armie, and should seeke to invade this kingdome, these provisions following would be needefull.

What provision is to be made if Don Antonio should come with an army.

THat warning be given to the Conde de Beneventa, to the Marques de Soria, to the Conde of Altamira, to the Conde of Monterey, to the Marquesse of Zerraluo, and to the rest of the Lordes and Knights, which are to have order to bee in a readinesse, against hee come unto this kingdome.

That the people also be trained of the cities of Toro, Zamora, and Salamanca, to bee ready to succour the countrey betweene the rivers of Doro and Minno: and [III. 534.] the people of Estremadura and Sivilla are likewise to bee trained to be ready to succour the citie of Lisbon, and the countrey about the same.

Also that the castles of this citie, river and territorie be victualled and provided of gunpowder, match and lead, and all things else belonging to the artillerie, as I have requested in the relations which I sent unto his majestie the 7. of March of this present yeere 1585.

An armie of 14. gallies to be provided.

That the gallies be furnished for foure moneths: and

that sixe more bee brought from Spaine to this river of Lisbon with an hundred and twentie souldiers for ech gallie, that they may be devided among the eight gallies which remaine here.

And in case it fall out that the armie of the English goe not for the Indies, but occupie themselves upon this kingdome, (for there may be English ships, which may attend the one and the other) we shal be enforced to make another armie, besides that for the Indies, of twelve ships, foure pataches, and a thousand five hundred souldiers.

Another army of 12. great ships, 4 pataches, and 1500 souldiers.

In mine opinion all this is meet for his majesties service to be foreseene to be made ready with great diligence and care, and to provide money needfull for the same, without neglecting the one or the other, but that all these things be done without delay: Referring my selfe in all things to those of wiser judgement. Written in Lisbon the 26 of October, 1585.

A summarie and true discourse of sir Francis Drakes West Indian voyage, begun in the yeere 1585. Wherein were taken the cities of Saint Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the towne of Saint Augustine in Florida; Published by M. Thomas Cates.

THis worthy knight for the service of his Prince and countrey having prepared his whole fleete, and gotten them downe to Plimmouth in Devonshire, to the number of five and twenty saile of ships and pinnesses, and having assembled of souldiers and mariners, to the number of 2300. in the whole, embarked them and himselfe at Plimmouth aforesaid, the 12. day of September 1585. being accompanied with these men of name and charge, which hereafter follow:

Master Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, a man

of long experience in the warres as well by sea as land, who had formerly caried high offices in both kindes in many fights, which he discharged alwaies very happily, and with great good reputation.

Anthonie Powel Sergeant Major.

Captaine Matthew Morgan, and Captaine John Sampson, Corporals of the field.

These officers had commandement over the rest of the land-Captaines, whose names hereafter follow.

Captaine Anthony Plat.	Captaine John Merchant.
Captaine Edward Winter.	Captaine William Cecill.
Captaine John Goring.	Captaine Walter Bigs.
Captaine Robert Pew.	Captaine John Hannam.
Captaine George Barton.	Captaine Richard Stanton.

Captaine Martine Frobisher Viceadmirall, a man of great experience in sea-faring actions, who had caried the chiefe charge of many ships himselfe, in sundry voyages before, being now shipped in the Primrose.

Captaine Francis Knolles, Reereadmirall in the Galeon Leicester.

Master Thomas Vennor Captaine in the Elizabeth Bonadventure under the Generall.

Master Edward Winter Captaine in the Aide.

Master Christopher Carleil the Lieutenant generall, Captaine of the Tygar.

Henry White Captaine of the sea Dragon.
Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas.
Thomas Seelie Captaine of the Minion.
Baily Captaine of the Barke Talbot.
Robert Crosse Captaine of the Bark Bond.
George Fortescue Captaine of the Barke Bonner.
Edward Carelesse Captaine of the Hope.
James Erizo Captaine of the White Lyon.
Thomas Moone Captaine of the Francis.
John Rivers Captaine of the Vantage.
John Vaughan Captaine of the Drake.

John Varney Captaine of the George.
John Martin Captaine of the Benjamin.
Edward Gilman Captaine of the Skout.
Richard Hawkins Captaine of the Galiot called the Ducke.
Bitfield Captaine of the Swallow. [III. 535.]

After our going hence, which was the foureteenth of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1585. and taking our course towards Spaine, wee had the winde for a fewe dayes somewhat skant, and sometimes calme. And being arrived neere that part of Spaine, which is called the Moores, wee happened to espie divers sailes, which kept their course close by the shore, the weather being faire and calme. The Generall caused the Viceadmirall to goe with the pinnesses well manned to see what they were, who upon sight of the said pinnesses approching neere unto them, abandoned for the most part all their ships (being Frenchmen) laden all with salt, and bound homewards into France, amongst which ships (being all of small burthen) there was one so wel liked, which also had no man in her, as being brought unto ye general, he thought good to make stay of her for the service, meaning to pay for her, as also accordingly he performed at our returne: which barke was called the Drake. The rest of these ships (being eight or nine) were dismissed without any thing at all taken from them. Who being afterwardes put somewhat farther off from the shore, by the contrariety of the wind, we happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with Newland fish, being upon their returne homeward from the said Newfoundland: whom the Generall after some speech had with them (and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboord of them.

The day following standing in with the shore againe, we discried another tall ship of twelve score tunnes or thereaboutes, upon whom Master Carliel the Lieutenant

generall being in the Tygar, undertooke the chase, whom also anon after the Admirall followed, and the Tygar having caused the said strange ship to strike her sailes, kept her there without suffering any body to go aboord untill the Admirall was come up: who forthwith sending for the Master, and divers others of their principall men, and causing them to be severally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebastian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the most part belonging to S. John de Luz, and the Passage. In this ship was great store of dry Newland fish, commonly called with us Poore John, whereof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly bestead us in the whole course of our voyage. A day or two after the taking of this ship, we put in within the Isles of Bayon, for lacke of favourable wind: where wee had no sooner ankered some part of the fleete, but the Generall commanded all the pinnesses with the shipboats to be manned, and every man to be furnished with such armes as were needful for that present service; which being done, the Generall put himselfe into his gallie, which was also well furnished, and rowing towards the city of Bayon, with intent, and the favour of the Almighty to surprise it, before we had advanced one halfe league of our way, there came a messenger being an English merchant from the Governour, to see what strange fleet we were, who came to our General, conferred a while with him, and after a small time spent, our Generall called for Captaine Sampson, and willed him to go to the Governour of the citie, to resolve him of two points. The first, to know if there were any warres betweene Spaine and England. The second, why our marchants with their goods were embarged or arrested. Thus departed captain Sampson with the said messenger to the citie, where he found the governour & people much amazed of such a sudden accident.

The Isles of Bayona.

The Generall with the advise and counsell of M. Carleil his Lieutenant generall, who was in the galley with him, thought not good to make any stand, till such time as they were within the shot of the citie, where they might bee ready upon the returne of Captaine Sampson, to make a sudden attempt if cause did require before it were darke.

Captaine Sampson returned with his message in this sort. First, touching peace or warres the Governour said he knew of no warres, and that it lay not in him to make any, hee being so meane a subject as he was. And as for the stay of the merchants with their goods, it was the kings pleasure, but not with intent to endomage any man. And that the kings counter-commandement was (which had bene received in that place some sevennight before) that English merchants with their goods should be discharged: for the more verifying wherof, he sent such merchants as were in the towne of our nation, who traffiqued those parts: which being at large declared to our General by them, counsell was taken what might best be done. And for that the night approched, it was thought needful to land our forces, which was done in the shutting up of the day, & having quartered our selves to our most advantage, with sufficient gard upon every strait, we thought to rest our selves for that night there. The Governour sent us some refreshing, as bread, wine, oyle, apples, grapes, marmalad and such like. About midnight the weather beganne to overcast, insomuch that it was thought meeter to repaire aboord, then to make any longer abode on land, and before wee could recover the Fleete, a great tempest arose, which caused many of our shippes to drive from their anker-hold, and some were forced to sea in great perill, as the barke Talbot, the barke Hawkins, and the Speedewell, which Speedewel was [III. 536.] onely driven into England, the others recovered us againe: the extremitie of the storme lasted three dayes, which no sooner began to asswage, but M. Carleil our Lieutenant generall was sent with his owne shippe and three others: as also with the gallie and with divers

pinnesses, to see what he might doe above Vigo, where hee tooke many boates and some caravels, diversly laden with things of small value, but chiefly with houshold stuffe, running into the high countrey, and amongst the rest, he found one boat laden with the principal church-stuffe of the high Church of Vigo, where also was their great crosse of silver, of very faire embossed worke, and double gilt all over, having cost them a great masse of money. They complained to have lost in all kind of goods above thirty thousand duckets in this place.

The next day the Generall with his whole fleete went from up the Isles of Bayon, to a very good harbour above Vigo, where M. Carleil stayed his comming, aswell for the more quiet riding of his ships, as also for the good commoditie of fresh watering, which the place there did afourd full well. In the meane time the Governour of Galicia had reared such forces as hee might, his numbers by estimate were some two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and marched from Bayon to this part of the countrey, which lay in sight of our fleete, where making a stand, he sent to parley with our Generall, which was granted by our Generall, so it might bee in boats upon the water: and for safetie of their persons, there were pledges delivered on both sides: which done, the Governor of Galicia put himselfe with two others into our Viceadmirals skiffe, the same having bene sent to the shore for him, and in like sort our Generall went in his owne skiffe; where it was by them agreed, we should furnish our selves with fresh water, to be taken by our owne people quietly on the land, and have all other such necessaries, paying for the same, as the place would affourd.

When all our businesse was ended, wee departed, and tooke our way by the Islands of Canaria, which are esteemed some three hundred leagues from this part of Spaine, and falling purposely with Palma, with intention to have taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order, and the better

furnishing our store with such severall good things as it affourdeth very abundantly, we were forced by the vile Sea-gate, which at that present fell out, and by the naughtinesse of the landing place, being but one, and that under the favour of many platformes well furnished with great ordinance, to depart with the receit of many of their Canon-shot, some into our ships, and some besides, some of them being in very deede full Canon high. But the only or chiefe mischiefe was the dangerous sea-surge, which at shore all alongst plainly threatned the overthrow of as many pinnesses and boates, as for that time should have attempted any landing at all.

Now seeing the expectation of this attempt frustrated by the causes aforesaid, we thought it meeter to fall with the Isle Hierro, to see if we could find any better fortune: and comming to the Island, we landed a thousand men in a valley under a high mountaine, where we stayed some two or three houres, in which time the inhabitants, accompanied with a yong fellow borne in England, who dwelt there with them, came unto us, shewing their state to be so poore, that they were all ready to starve, which was not untrue: and therefore without any thing gotten, we were all commanded presently to imbarke, so as that night wee put off to sea Southsoutheast along towards the coast of Barbary.

Upon Saturday in the morning, being the 13. of November, we fell with Cape Blanke, which is a low land and shallow water, where we catched store of fish, and doubling the Cape, we put into the Bay, where we found certaine French ships of warre, whom wee entertained with great courtesie, and there left them. This afternoone the whole fleet assembled, which was a little scattered about their fishing, and put from thence to the Isles of Cape Verde, sailing till the 16. of the same moneth in the morning, on which day we discried the Island of S. Iago, and in the evening we ankered the fleet between the towne called the Playa or Praya, and

S. Iago, where we put on shore 1000. men or more, under the leading of M. Christopher Carleil Lieutenant general, who directed the service most like a wise commander. The place where we had first to march did affourd no good order, for the ground was mountainous & full of dales, being a very stony and troublesome passage; but such was his industrious disposition, as he would never leave, untill wee had gotten up to a faire plain, where we made stand for the assembling of the army. And when we were al gathered together upon the plaine, some 2 miles from the town, the lieutenant general thought good not to make attempt til daylight: because there was not one that could serve for guid or giving knowledge at al of ye place. And therfore after having wel rested, even halfe an houre before day, he commanded the army to be divided into 3 speciall parts, such as he appointed, wheras before we had marched by several companies, being therunto forced by the badnesse of the way as is aforesaid.

[III. 537.] Now by the time wee were thus ranged into a very brave order, daylight began to appeare, and being advanced hard to the wall, we saw no enemie to resist, whereupon the Lieutenant generall appointed Captaine Sampson with thirtie shot, and Captaine Barton with other thirtie, to goe downe into the towne which stood in the valley under us, and might very plainely bee viewed all over from that place where the whole Army was now arrived: and presently after these Captaines was sent the great ensigne, which had nothing in it but the plaine English crosse, to be placed towardes the Sea, that our Fleet might see Saint Georges cross florish in the enemies fortresse. Order was given that all the ordinance throughout the towne and upon all the platformes, which were above fiftie pieces all ready charged, should be shot off in honour of the Queenes Majesties coronation day, being the seventeenth of November, after the yeerely custome of England,

which was so answered againe by the ordinance out of all the ships in the fleete which now was come neere, as it was strange to heare such a thundering noyse last so long together. In this meane while the Lieutenant generall held still the most part of his force on the hill top, till such time as the towne was quartered out for the lodging of the whole Armie: which being done every captaine tooke his own quarter, and in the evening was placed such a sufficient gard upon every part of the towne that we had no cause to feare any present enemie.

The citie of Iago taken and possessed for 14 dayes.

Thus we continued in the citie the space of 14. dayes, taking such spoiles as the place yeelded, which were for the most part, wine, oyle, meale, and some such like things for victuall, as vineger, olives, and some such other trash, as merchandise for their Indians trades. But there was not found any treasure at all, or any thing else of worth besides.

The situation of S. Iago is somewhat strange, in forme like a triangle, having on the East and West sides two mountaines of rocke and cliffe, as it were hanging over it, upon the top of which two mountaines were builded certaine fortifications to preserve the towne from any harme that might bee offered, as in a plot is plainely shewed. From thence, on the South side of the towne is the maine sea, and on the North side, the valley lying betweene the foresayd mountaines, wherein the towne standeth: the said valley & towne both do grow very narrow, insomuch that the space betweene the two cliffes of this end of the towne is estimated not to be above 10. or 12. score over.

In the middest of the valley commeth downe a riveret, rill, or brooke of fresh water, which hard by the sea side maketh a pond or poole, whereout our ships were watered with very great ease and pleasure. Somewhat above the towne on the North side betweene the two mountains, the valley waxeth somewhat larger then at the townes end, which valley is wholly converted into

gardens and orchards well replenished with divers sorts of fruites, herbes and trees, as lymmons, orenges, sugar-canes, cochars or cochos nuts, plantans, potato-rootes, cucumbers, small and round onions, garlicke, and some other things not now remembered, amongst which the cochos nuts, and plantans are very pleasant fruites, the saide cochos hath a hard shell and a greene huske over it, as hath our walnut, but it farre exceedeth in greatnesse, for this cochos in his greene huske is bigger than any mans two fistes: of the hard shell many drinking cups are made here in England, and set in silver as I have often seene.

Next within this hard shell is a white rine resembling in shewe very much even as any thing may do, to the white of an egge when it is hard boyled. And within this white of the nut lyeth a water, which is whitish and very cleere, to the quantitie of halfe a pynt or thereaboutes, which water and white rine before spoken of, are both of a very coole fresh tast, and as pleasing as any thing may be. I have heard some hold opinion, that it is very restorative.

The plantan groweth in cods, somewhat like to beanes, but is bigger and longer, and much more thicke together on the stalke, and when it waxeth ripe, the meate which filleth the rine of the cod becommeth yellow, and is exceeding sweet and pleasant.

In this time of our being there hapned to come a Portugall to the Westerne fort, with a flag of truce, to whom Captaine Sampson was sent with Captaine Goring, who comming to the said messenger, he first asked them what nation they were, they answered Englishmen, hee then required to knowe if warres were betweene England and Spaine, to which they answered that they knew not, but if he would goe to their Generall he could best resolve him of such particulars, and for his assurance of passage and repassage, these Captaines made offer to ingage their credits, which he refused for that he was not sent from his Governor. Then they told him, if

his Governor did desire to take a course for the common benefit of the people and countrey, his best way were to come and present himselfe unto our noble and mercifull Governour sir Francis Drake, whereby hee might bee assured to find favour, both for himselfe and the inhabitantes. Otherwise within three dayes wee should march over the land, and consume with fire all inhabited places, and put to the sword all such living soules as wee shoulde chance upon: so thus much he tooke for the conclusion of his answere, and departing, [III. 538.] hee promised to returne the next day, but we never heard more of him.

Upon the foure and twentieth of November, the Generall accompanied with the lieutenant generall and sixe hundred men marched foorth to a village twelve miles within the land, called Saint Domingo, where the Governour and the Bishoppe with all the better sort were lodged, and by eight of the clocke wee came to it, finding the place abandoned, and the people fled into the mountaines: so we made stand a while to ease our selves, and partly to see if any would come to speake to us.

After we had well rested our selves, the Generall commaunded the troupes to march away homewards, in which retreat the enemie shewed themselves, both horse and foote, though not such force as durst encounter us: and so in passing sometime at the gase with them, it waxed late and towards night before we could recover home to S. Iago.

On Munday the sixe and twentieth of November, the Generall commaunded all the pinnesses with the boates, to use all diligence to imbarke the Armie into such shippes as every man belonged. The Lieutenant generall in like sort commanded Captaine Goring and Lieutenant Tucker, with one hundred shot to make a stand in the market place, untill our forces were wholly imbarked, the viceadmiral making stay with his pinnesse & certaine boats in the harbour, to bring the sayd last

companie aboord the ships. Also the Generall willed forthwith the gallie with two pinnesses to take into them the company of Captaine Barton, and the company of Captaine Bigs, under the leading of captaine Sampson, to seeke out such munition as was hidden in the ground, at the towne of Praya or Playa, having bene promised to be shewed it by a prisoner, which was taken the day before.

The Captaines aforesayd comming to the Playa, landed their men, and having placed the troupe in their best strength, Captaine Sampson tooke the prisoner, and willed him to shewe that hee had promised, the which he could not, or at least would not: but they searching all suspected places, found two pieces of ordinance, one of yron, an other of brasse. In the after noone the Generall ankered with the rest of the Fleet before the Playa, comming himselfe ashore, willing us to burne the towne and make all haste aboord, the which was done by sixe of the clocke the same day, and our selves imbarked againe the same night, and so we put off to Sea Southwest.

A wise course to be imitated in all great actions.

But before our departure from the towne of S. Iago, wee established orders for the better government of the Army, every man mustered to his captaine, and othes were ministred to acknowledge her Majestie supreme Governour, as also every man to doe his uttermost endevour to advance the service of the action, and to yeeld due obedience unto the directions of the Generall and his officers. By this provident counsell, and laying downe this good foundation before hand, all things went forward in a due course, to the atchieving of our happy enterprise.

In all the time of our being here, neither the Governour for the king of Spaine, (which is a Portugall) neither the Bishop, whose authoritie is great, neither the inhabitants of the towne, or Island ever came at us (which we expected they should have done) to intreate us to leave them some part of their needfull provisions,

or at the least, to spare the ruining of their towne at our going away. The cause of this their unreasonable distrust (as I doe take it) was the fresh remembrance of the great wrongs they had done to old M. William Hawkins of Plimmouth, in the voyage he made 4. or 5. yeeres before, when as they did both breake their promise, and murthered many of his men, whereof I judge you have understood, & therefore it is needlesse to be repeated. But since they came not at us, we left written in sundry places, as also in the spittle house, (which building was only appointed to be spared) the great discontentment & scorne we tooke at this their refraining to come unto us, as also at the rude maner of killing, & savage kind of handling the dead body of one of our boyes found by them stragling al alone, from whom they had taken his head and heart, and had stragled the other bowels about the place, in a most brutish and beastly maner.

The treason of the Portugals against M. William Hawkins.

In revenge whereof at our departing we consumed with fire all the houses, aswell in the countrey which we saw, as in the towne of S. Iago.

From hence putting off to the West Indies, wee were not many dayes at Sea, but there beganne among our people such mortalitie, as in fewe dayes there were dead above two or three hundred men. And until some seven or eight dayes after our comming from S. Iago, there had not died any one man of sicknesse in all the fleete: the sicknesse shewed not his infection wherewith so many were stroken, untill we were departed thence, and then seazed our people with extreme hot burning and continuall agues, whereof very fewe escaped with life, and yet those for the most part not without great alteration and decay of their wittes and strength for a long time after. In some that died were plainely shewed the small spots, which are often found upon those that be infected with the plague: wee were not above eighteene dayes in passage betweene the sight of Saint Iago aforesaid, and the Island of Dominica, being the [III. 539.]

first Island of the West Indies that we fell withall, the same being inhabited with savage people, which goe all naked, their skinne coloured with some painting of a reddish tawney, very personable and handsome strong men, who doe admit litle conversation with the Spanyards: for as some of our people might understand them, they had a Spaniard or twaine prisoners with them, neither doe I thinke that there is any safetie for any of our nation, or any other to be within the limits of their commandement, albeit they used us very kindly for those few houres of time which wee spent with them, helping our folkes to fill and carry on their bare shoulders fresh water from the river to our ships boates, and fetching from their houses great store of Tabacco, as also a kind of bread which they fed on, called Cassavi, very white and savourie, made of the rootes of Cassavi. In recompence whereof, we bestowed liberall rewards of glasse, coloured beades, and other things, which we had found at Saint Iago, wherewith (as it seemed) they rested very greatly satisfied, and shewed some sorowfull countenance when they perceived that we would depart.

From hence wee went to another Island Westward of it, called Saint Christophers Island, wherein we spent some dayes of Christmas, to refresh our sicke people, and to cleanse and ayre our ships. In which Island were not any people at all that we could heare of.

In which time by the General it was advised and resolved, with the consent of the Lieutenant generall, the Vice-admiral, and all the rest of the Captaines to proceede to the great Islande of Hispaniola, aswell for that we knewe our selves then to bee in our best strength, as also the rather allured thereunto, by the glorious fame of the citie of S. Domingo, being the ancientest and chiefe inhabited place in all the tract of Countrey thereabouts. And so proceeding in this determination, by the way we mette a small Frigat, bound for the same place, the which the Vice-admirall tooke: and having duely examined the men that were in her,

there was one found, by whom wee were advertised, the Haven to be a barren Haven, and the shore or land thereof to bee well fortified, having a Castle thereupon furnished with great store of Artillerie, without the danger whereof was no convenient landing place within ten English miles of the Citie, to which the sayd Pilot tooke upon him to conduct us.

All things being thus considered on, the whole forces were commaunded in the Evening to embarke themselves in Pinnesses, boats, and other small barkes appoynted for this service. Our souldiers being thus imbarked, the Generall put himselfe into the barke Francis as Admirall, and all this night we lay on the sea, bearing small saile untill our arrivall to the landing place, which was about the breaking of the day, and so we landed, being Newyeeres day, nine or ten miles to the Westwards of that brave Citie of S. Domingo: for at that time nor yet is knowen to us any landing place, where the sea-surge doth not threaten to overset a Pinnesse or boate. Our Generall having seene us all landed in safetie, returned to his Fleete, bequeathing us to God, and the good conduct of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall: at which time, being about eight of the clocke, we began to march, and about noone time, or towards one of the clocke, we approched the towne, where the Gentlemen and those of the better sort, being some hundred and fiftie brave horses or rather more, began to present themselves; but our small shot played upon them, which were so susteined with good proportion of pikes in all parts, as they finding no part of our troope unprepared to receive them (for you must understand they viewed all round about) they were thus driven to give us leave to proceed towards the two gates of the towne, which were the next to the seaward. They had manned them both, and planted their ordinance for that present, and sudden alarme without the gate, and also some troopes of small shot in Ambuscado upon the hie way side. We divided our whole force, being some thousand or twelve hundred

men into two partes, to enterprise both the gates at one instant, the Lieutenant Generall having openly vowed to Captaine Powel (who led the troope that entred the other gate) that with Gods good favour he would not rest untill our meeting in the market place.

Their ordinance had no sooner discharged upon our neere approch, and made some execution amongst us, though not much, but the Lieutenant generall began forthwith to advance both his voice of encouragement, and pace of marching: the first man that was slaine with the ordinance being very neere unto himselfe: and thereupon hasted all that hee might, to keepe them from the recharging of the ordinance. And notwithstanding their Ambuscados, we marched or rather ran so roundly in to them, as pell mell wee entred the gates, and gave them more care every man to save himselfe by flight, then reason to stand any longer to their broken fight. Wee forthwith repayred to the market place: but to be more truely understood, a place of very faire spacious square ground, whither also came as had bene agreed Captaine Powel with the other troope: which place with some part next unto it, we strengthened with Barricados, and there as the most convenient place assured our selves, the Citie being farre too spacious for so small and weary a troope to undertake to guarde. Somewhat after midnight, they who had the guard of the Castle, hearing us busie about the gates of the said Castle, abandoned the same: some being taken prisoners, and some fleeing away by the helpe of boates to the other side of the Haven, and so into the countrey.

The citie of S. Domingo taken.

[III. 540.]

The next day we quartered a litle more at large, but not into the halfe part of the towne, and so making substantiall trenches, and planting all the ordinance, that ech part was correspondent to other, we held this towne the space of one moneth.

In the which time happened some accidents, more then are well remembred for the present, but amongst other things, it chanced that the Generall sent on his message

to the Spanyards a Negro boy with a flagge of white, signifying truce, as is the Spanyards ordinarie maner to doe there, when they approch to speake to us: which boy unhappily was first mette withall by some of those, who had bene belonging as officers for the King in the Spanish Galley, which with the Towne was lately fallen into our hands, who without all order or reason, & contrary to that good usage wherewith wee had intertained their messengers, furiously strooke the poore boy thorow the body with one of their horsemens staves: with which wound the boy returned to the General, and after hee had declared the maner of this wrongfull crueltie, died foorthwith in his presence, wherewith the Generall being greatly passioned, commaunded the Provost Martiall, to cause a couple of Friers then prisoners, to be caried to the same place where the boy was stroken, accompanied with sufficient guard of our souldiers, and there presently to be hanged, dispatching at the same instant another poore prisoner, with this reason wherefore this execution was done, & with this message further, that until the party who had thus murdered the Generals messenger were delivered into our hands, to receive condigne punishment, there should no day passe, wherein there should not two prisoners be hanged, until they were all consumed which were in our hands.

Whereupon the day following, hee that had bene Captaine of the kings Galley, brought the offender to the townes end, offring to deliver him into our hands; but it was thought to be a more honourable revenge to make them there in our sight, to performe the execution themselves: which was done accordingly.

During our being in this towne, as formerly also at S. Iago there had passed justice upon the life of one of our owne company for an odious matter, so heere likewise was there an Irishman hanged, for the murthering of his Corporall.

In this time also passed many treaties betweene their Commissioners and us, for ransome of their Citie; but

upon disagreements we still spent the early mornings in fiering the outmost houses: but they being built very magnificently of stone, with high loftes, gave us no small travell to ruine them. And albeit for divers dayes together we ordeined ech morning by day breake, until the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred Mariners did nought els but labour to fire and burne the said houses without our trenches, whilst the souldiers in a like proportion stood forth for their guard: yet did wee not, or could not in this time consume so much as one third part of the towne: which towne is plainely described and set forth in a certaine Map. And so in the end, what wearied with firing, and what hastened by some other respects, wee were contented to accept of five and twentie thousand Ducats of five shillings sixe pence the peece, for the ransome of the rest of the towne.

Most unsatiable Spanish ambition.

Amongst other things which happened and were found at S. Domingo, I may not omit to let the world know one very notable marke & token of the unsatiable ambition of the Spanish king and his nation, which was found in the kings house, wherein the chiefe governour of that Citie and Countrey is appoynted alwayes to lodge, which was this: In the comming to the Hall or other roomes of this house, you must first ascend up by a faire large paire of staires; at the head of which staires is a handsome spacious place to walke in, somewhat like unto a gallery: wherein upon one of the wals, right over against you as you enter the said place, so as your eye cannot escape the sight of it, there is described & painted in a very large Scutchion the armes of the king of Spaine, and in the lower part of the said Scutchion, there is likewise described a Globe, conteining in it the whole circuit of the sea and the earth wherupon is a horse standing on his hinder part within the globe, and the other fore-part without the globe, lifted up as it were to leape, with a scroll painted in his mouth, wherein was written these words in Latin, Non sufficit orbis: which is as much to say, as the world sufficeth not. Whereof the meaning was required to be

knowen of some of those of the better sort, that came in commission to treate upon the ransome of the towne, who would shake their heads, and turne aside their countenance in some smyling sort, without answering any thing, as greatly ashamed thereof. For by some of our company it was tolde them, that if the Queene of England [III. 541.] would resolutely prosecute the warres against the king of Spaine, hee should be forced to lay aside that proude and unreasonable reaching vaine of his: for hee should finde more then inough to doe to keepe that which hee had alreadie, as by the present example of their lost towne they might for a beginning perceive well inough.

Now to the satisfying of some men, who marvell greatly that such a famous and goodly builded Citie so well inhabited of gallant people, very brave in their apparell (whereof our souldiers found good store for their reliefe) should afoord no greater riches then was found there: herein it is to be understood that the Indian people, which were the naturals of this whole Island of Hispaniola (the same being neere hand as great as England) were many yeeres since cleane consumed by the tyrannie of the Spanyards, which was ye cause, that for lacke of people to worke in the Mines, the golde and silver Mines of this Island are wholy given over, and thereby they are faine in this Island to use Copper money, whereof was found very great quantitie. The chiefe trade of this place consisteth of Sugar and Ginger, which groweth in the Island, and of Hides of oxen and kine, which in this waste countrey of the Island are bredde in infinite numbers, the soyle being very fertile: and the sayd beasts are fedde up to a very large grouth, and so killed for nothing so much, as for their Hides aforesayd. Wee found heere great store of strong wine, sweete oyle, vineger, olives, and other such like provisions, as excellent Wheate-meale packed up in wine-pipes and other caske, and other commodities likewise, as Woollen and Linnen cloth, and some Silkes: all which provisions are brought out of Spaine, and served us for

great reliefe. There was but a little Plate or vessell of Silver, in comparison of the great pride in other things of this towne, because in these hotte Countreys they use much of those earthen dishes finely painted or varnished, which they call Porcellana, which is had out of the East India: & for their drinking, they use glasses altogether, whereof they make excellent good and faire in the same place. But yet some plate we found, and many other good things, as their houshold garniture very gallant and rich, which had cost them deare, although unto us they were of small importance.

From Saint Domingo we put over to the maine or firme land, and going all alongst the coast, we came at *Cartagena.* the last in sight of Cartagena, standing upon the sea side, so neere, as some of our barks in passing alongst, approched within the reach of their Culverin shot, which they had planted upon certaine platformes. The Harbour mouth lay some three miles toward the Westward of the towne, whereinto wee entred about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone without any resistance of ordinance, or other impeachment planted upon the same. In the Evening we put our selves on land towards the harbour mouth, under the leading of Master Carliell our Lieutenant Generall, who after hee had digested us to march forwarde about midnight, as easily as foote might fall, expresly commanded us to keepe close by the sea-wash of the shore for our best & surest way, whereby we were like to goe through, and not to misse any more of the way, which once wee had lost within an houre after our first beginning to march, through the slender knowledge of him that tooke upon him to be our guide, whereby the night spent on, which otherwise must have bene done by resting. But as we came within some two miles of the towne, their horsemen which were some hundred, met us, and taking the alarme, retired to their townward againe upon the first volley of our shot that was given them: for the place where wee encountred being

wooddy and bushy even to the water side was unmeete for their service.

At this instant we might heare some pieces of Artillerie discharged, with divers small shot towards the harbour, which gave us to understand, according to the order set downe in the Evening before by our Generall, that the Vice-admirall accompanied with Captaine Venner, Captaine White, and Captaine Crosse, with other sea Captaines, and with divers Pinnesses and boates should give some attempt unto the litle Fort standing on the entrie of the inner Haven, neere adjoyning to the towne, though to small purpose, for that the place was strong, and the entry very narrow was chained over: so as there could be nothing gotten by the attempt, more than the giving of them an alarme on that other side of the Haven being a mile and a halfe from the place we now were at. In which attempt the Vice-admirall had the rudder of his skiffe stroken through with a Saker shot, and a litle or no harme received elsewhere.

The troopes being now in their march, halfe a myle behither the Towne or lesse, the ground we were on grewe to bee streight, and not above fiftie paces over, having the maine Sea on the one side of it, and the harbour-water or inner sea (as you may tearme it) on the other side, which in the plot is plainely shewed. This streight was fortified cleane over with a stone wall and a ditch without it: the sayd wall being as orderly built with flanking in every part, as can be set downe. There was onely so much of this streight unwalled, as might serve for the issuing of the horsemen, or the passing of caryage in time of neede: but this unwalled part was not without a very good Barricado of wine- [III. 542.] buts or pipes, filled with earth, full and thicke as they might stand on ende one by another, some part of them standing even within the maine sea.

This place of strength was furnished with sixe great peeces, Demi-culverins, and Sakers, which shotte

directly in front upon us as wee approched. Now without this wall upon the inner side of the streight, they had brought likewise two great Galleis with their prowes to the shore, having planted in them eleven peeces of ordinance, which did beate all crosse the streight, and flanked our comming on. In these two Galleis were planted three or foure hundred small shot, and on the land in the guard onely of this place, three hundred shot and pikes.

They in this their full readinesse to receive us, spared not their shot both great and small. But our Lieutenant generall, taking the advantage of the darke (the day light as yet not broken out) approched by the lowest ground, according to the expresse direction which himselfe had formerly given, the same being the sea-wash shore, where the water was somewhat fallen, so as most of all their shot was in vaine. Our Lieutenant generall commanded our shot to forbeare shooting untill we were come to the wall side, and so with pikes roundly together we approched the place, where we soone found out the Barricados of pipes or buts, to be the meetest place for our assault, which, notwithstanding it was well furnished with pikes and shot, was without staying attempted by us: downe went the buts of earth, and pell mell came our swordes and pikes together, after our shot had first given their volley, even at the enemies nose. Our pikes were somewhat longer then theirs, and our bodies better armed; for very few of them were armed: with which advantage our swordes and pikes grew too hard for them, and they driven to give place. In this furious entry, the Lieutenant generall slew with his owne hands the chiefe Ensigne bearer of the Spaniards, who fought very manfully to his lives end.

We followed into the towne with them, and giving them no leasure to breath, we wanne the Market-place, albeit they made head, and fought a while before we got it, and so wee being once seazed and assured of

that, they were content to suffer us to lodge within their towne, and themselves to goe to their wives, whom they had caryed into other places of the countrey before our comming thither.

At every streetes end they had raised very fine Barricados of earth-workes, with trenches without them, as well made as ever we saw any worke done: at the entring whereof was some litle resistance, but soone overcome it was, with few slaine or hurt. They had joyned with them many Indians, whom they had placed in corners of advantage, all bowmen, with their arrowes most villanously empoysoned, so as if they did but breake the skinne, the partie so touched died without great marvell: some they slew of our people with their arrowes: some they likewise mischieved to death with certaine pricks of small sticks sharply pointed, of a foote and a halfe long, the one ende put into the ground, the other empoysoned, sticking fast up, right against our comming in the way, as we should approch from our landing towardes the towne, whereof they had planted a wonderfull number in the ordinarie way: but our keeping the sea-wash shore missed the greatest part of them very happily.

I overpasse many particular matters, as the hurting of Captaine Sampson at sword blowes in the first entring, unto whom was committed the charge of the pikes of the Vantguard by his lot and turne; as also of the taking of Alonso Bravo the chiefe commander of that place by Captaine Goring, after the said captaine had first hurt him with his sword: unto which Captaine was committed the charge of the shot of the sayd Vantguard.

Alonso Bravo the governour of Cartagena taken.

Captaine Winter was likewise by his turne of the Vantguard in this attempt, where also the Lieutenant generall marched himselfe: the said Captaine Winter through a great desire to serve by land, having now exchanged his charge by sea with Captaine Cecil for his band of footemen.

Captaine Powel the Sergeant maior had by his turne the charge of the foure companies which made the battaile.

Captaine Morgan, who at S. Domingo was of the Vantguard, had now by turne his charge upon the companies of the Rereward.

Every man as well of one part as of another, came so willingly on to the service, as the enemie was not able to endure the furie of such hot assault.

We stayed here sixe weekes, and the sicknesse with mortalitie before spoken of still continued among us, though not with the same furie as at the first: and such as were touched with the sayde sicknesse, escaping death, very few or almost none could recover their strength: yea, many of them were much decayed in their memorie, insomuch that it was growen an ordinarie judgement, when one was heard to speake foolishly, to say he had bene sicke of the Calentura, which is the [III. 543.] Spanish name of their burning Ague: for as I tolde you before, it is a very burning and pestilent ague. The originall cause thereof, is imputed to the Evening or first night ayre, which they tearme La serena, wherein they say and hold very firme opinion, that who so is then abroad in the open ayre, shall certainly be infected to the death, not being of the Indian or naturall race of those countrey people: by holding their watch, our men were thus subjected to the infectious ayre, which at S. Iago was most dangerous and deadly of all other places.

With the inconvenience of continuall mortalitie, we were forced to give over our intended enterprise to goe with Nombre de Dios, and so overland to Panama, where we should have strooken the stroke for the treasure, and full recompence of our tedious travailes. And thus at Cartagena wee tooke our first resolution to returne homewardes: the forme of which resolution I thought good here to put downe under the principall Captaines hands, as followeth.

A resolution of the Land-captaines, what course they thinke most expedient to bee taken. Given at Cartagena the xxvij. of Februarie 1585.

Hereas it hath pleased the Generall to demaund the opinions of his Captaines what course they thinke most expedient to be now undertaken, the Land-captaines being assembled by themselves together, and having advised hereupon, doe in three points deliver the same.

The first, touching the keeping of the towne against the force of the enemie, either that which is present, or that which may come out of Spaine, is answered thus.

WE holde opinion, that with this troope of men which we have presently with us in land-service, being victualled and munitioned, wee may well keepe the Towne, albeit that of men able to answere present service, we have not above 700. The residue being some 150. men by reason of their hurts and sicknesse are altogether unable to stand us in any stead: wherefore hereupon the Sea-captaines are likewise to give their resolution, how they will undertake the safetie and service of the Shippes upon the arrivall of any Spanish Fleete.

The second poynt we make to be this, whether it bee meete to goe presently homeward, or els to continue further tryall of our fortune in undertaking such like enterprises as we have done already, and thereby to seeke after that bountifull masse of treasure for recompence of our travailes, which was generally expected at our comming forth of England: wherein we answere.

THat it is well knowen how both we and the souldiers are entred into this action as voluntarie men, without any imprest or gage from her Majestie or any body els:

and forasmuch as we have hitherto discharged the parts of honest men, so that now by the great blessing and favour of our good God there have bin taken three such notable townes, wherein by the estimation of all men would have bene found some very great treasures, knowing that S. Iago was the chiefe citie of all the Islands and traffiques thereabouts, S. Domingo the chiefe citie of Hispaniola, and the head government not only of that Iland, but also of Cuba, and of all the Ilands about it, as also of such inhabitations of the firme land, as were next unto it, & a place that is both magnificently builded, and interteineth great trades of marchandise; and now lastly the citie of Cartagena, which cannot be denied to be one of the chiefe places of most especiall importance to the Spaniard of all the cities which be on this side of the West India: we doe therefore consider, that since all these cities, with their goods & prisoners taken in them, and the ransoms of the said cities being all put together, are found farre short to satisfie that expectation which by the generality of the enterprisers was first conceived: And being further advised of the slendernesse of our strength, whereunto we be now reduced, as well in respect of the small number of able bodies, as also not a litle in regard of the slacke disposition of the greater part of those which remaine, very many of the better mindes and men being either consumed by death, or weakened by sicknes and hurts: And lastly, since that as yet there is not laid downe to our knowledge any such enterprise as may seeme convenient to be undertaken with such few as we are presently able to make, and withall of such certaine likelihoode, as with Gods good successe which it may please him to bestow upon us, the same may promise to yeeld us any sufficient contentment: We doe therefore conclude hereupon, that it is better to hold sure as we may the honour already gotten, and with the same to returne towards our gracious [III. 544.] Soveraigne and Countrey, from whence if it shall please her Majestie to set us foorth againe with her orderly meanes and intertainment, we are most ready and willing

to goe through with any thing that the uttermost of our strength and indevour shall be able to reach unto; but therewithal wee doe advise and protest that it is farre from our thoughts, either to refuse, or so much as to seeme to be wearie of any thing, which for the present shalbe further required or directed to be done by us from our Generall.

The third and last poynt is concerning the ransome of this citie of Cartagena, for the which, before it was touched with any fire, there was made an offer of some xxvij. or xxviij. thousand pounds sterling.

THus much we utter herein as our opinions agreeing (so it be done in good sort) to accept this offer aforesayde, rather then to breake off by standing still upon our demaunds of one hundred thousand poundes, which seemes a matter impossible to bee performed for the present by them, and to say trueth, wee may now with much honour and reputation better be satisfied with that summe offered by them at the first (if they will now bee contented to give it) then wee might at that time with a great deale more, inasmuch as we have taken our full pleasure both in the uttermost sacking and spoyling of all their householde goods and marchandize, as also in that we have consumed and ruined a great part of their Towne with fire. And thus much further is considered herein by us, that as there bee in the Voyage a great many poore men, who have willingly adventured their lives and travailes, and divers amongst them having spent their apparell and such other little provisions as their small meanes might have given them leave to prepare, which being done upon such good and allowable intention as this action hath alwayes caried with it, meaning, against the Spanyard our greatest and most dangerous enemie: so surely wee cannot but have an inward regarde so farre as may lye in us, to helpe eyther in all good sort towards the satisfaction of this their expectation, and by procuring them some little benefite to incourage them and to nourish

this readie and willing disposition of theirs both in them and in others by their example against any other time of like occasion. But because it may bee supposed that heerein wee forgette not the private benefite of our selves, and are thereby the rather mooved to incline our selves to this composition, wee doe therefore thinke good for the clearing of our selves of all such suspition, to declare heereby, that what part or portion soever it bee of this ransome or composition for Cartagena, which should come unto us, wee doe freely give and bestowe the same wholy upon the poore men, who have remayned with us in the Voyage, meaning as well the Sayler as the Souldier, wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might seeme a sufficient rewarde for their painefull indevour. And for the firme confirmation thereof, we have thought meete to subsigne these presents with our owne hands in the place and time aforesayd.

Captaine Christopher Carliell Lieutenant Generall.
Captaine Goring. Captaine Sampson.
Captaine Powell &c.

But while wee were yet there, it happened one day, that our watch called the Centinell, upon the Church-steeple, had discovered in the Sea a couple of small Barkes or Boates, making in with the Harbour of Cartagena, whereupon Captaine Moone and Captaine Varney, with John Grant the Master of the Tyger, and some other Seamen, embarked themselves in a couple of small Pinnesses, to take them before they should come nigh the shore, at the mouth of the Harbour, lest by some stragling Spanyardes from the Lande, they might bee warned by signes from comming in: which fell out accordingly, notwithstanding all the diligence that our men could use: for the Spanish Boates, upon the sight of our Pinnesses comming towardes them, ranne themselves ashore, and so their men presently hidde themselves in bushes hard by the Sea side, amongst some others that had called them by signes thither. Our men presently without any due

regard had to the qualitie of the place, and seeing no man of the Spanyards to shew themselves, aboorded the Spanish Barkes or Boates, and so standing all open in them, were suddenly shotte at by a troope of Spanyardes out of the bushes: by which volley of shotte there were slaine Captaine Varney, which dyed presently, and Captaine Moone, who dyed some fewe dayes after, besides some foure or five others that were hurt: and so our folkes returned without their purpose, not having any sufficient number of souldiers with them to fight on shore. For those men they caryed were all Mariners to rowe, few of them armed, because they made account with their ordinance to have taken the Barkes well enough at sea, [III. 545.] which they might full easily have done, without any losse at all, if they had come in time to the harbour mouth, before the Spaniards boates had gotten so neere the shore.

During our abode in this place, as also at S. Domingo, there passed divers courtesies betweene us and the Spaniards, aś feasting, and using them with all kindnesse and favour: so as amongst others there came to see the Generall, the Governour of Cartagena, with the Bishop of the same, and divers other Gentlemen of the better sort.

This towne of Cartagena we touched in the out parts, & consumed much with fire, as we had done S. Domingo upon discontentments, and for want of agreeing with us in their first treaties touching their ransome, which at the last was concluded between us, should be 100. and 10000. Ducats for that which was yet standing, the Ducat valued at five shillings sixe pence sterling.

This towne though not halfe so bigge as S. Domingo, gives as you see, a farre greater ransome, being in very deede of farre more importance, by reason of the excellencie of the Harbour, and the situation thereof, to serve the trade of Nombre de Dios and other places, and is inhabited with farre more richer Merchants. The other is chiefly inhabited with Lawyers and brave Gentlemen,

being the chiefe or highest appeale of their suites in law of all the Islands about it, and of the maine land coast next unto it. And it is of no such accompt as Cartagena, for these and some other like reasons, which I could give you, over long to be now written.

The warning which this towne received of our comming towards them from S. Domingo, by the space of twentie dayes before our arrivall here, was cause that they had both fortified and every way prepared for their best defence. As also that they had caried and conveyed away all their treasure and principall substance.

The ransome of an hundred & ten thousand Ducats thus concluded on, as is aforesaid, the same being written, and expressing for nothing more then the towne of Cartagena, upon the payment of the sayd ransome, we left the said towne, and drewe some part of our souldiers into the Priorie or Abbey, standing a quarter of an English mile belowe the towne upon the harbour waterside, the same being walled with a wall of stone, which we told the Spaniards was yet ours, and not redeemed by their composition: whereupon they finding the defect of their contract, were contented to enter into another ransome for all places, but specially for the sayde house, as also the Blockehouse or Castle, which is upon the mouth of the inner harbour. And when wee asked as much for the one as for the other, they yeelded to give a thousand Crownes for the Abbey, leaving us to take our pleasure upon the Blockehouse, which they sayd they were not able to ransome, having stretched themselves to the uttermost of their powers: and therefore the sayd Blockehouse was by us undermined, and so with gunne powder blowen up in pieces.

While this latter contract was in making, our whole Fleete of ships fell downe towards the harbour mouth, where they anchored the third time, and imployed their men in fetching of fresh water aboord the ships for our voyage homewards, which water was had in a great well,

that is in the Island by the harbour mouth: which Island is a very pleasant place as hath bene seene, having in it many sorts of goodly and very pleasant fruites, as the Orenge trees and others, being set orderly in walkes of great length together. Insomuch as the whole Island being some two or three miles about, is cast into grounds of gardening and orchards. *The Island of Cares.*

After sixe weekes abode in this place, we put to sea the last of March, where after two or three dayes a great ship which we had taken at S. Domingo, and thereupon was called The new yeeres gift, fell into a great leake, being laden with ordinance, hides, and other spoyles, and in the night she lost the company of our Fleete; which being missed the next morning by the Generall, hee cast about with the whole Fleete, fearing some great mischance to bee happened unto her, as in very deede it so fell out: for her leake was so great, that her men were all tyred with pumping. But at the last having found her & the Bark Talbot in her company, which stayed by great hap with her, they were ready to take their men out of her, for the saving of them. And so the Generall being fully advertised of their great extremitie, made saile directly backe againe to Cartagena with the whole Fleete, where having staied eight or ten dayes more, about the unlading of this ship, and the bestowing thereof and her men into other Ships, we departed once againe to Sea, directing our course towards the Cape S. Antony, being the Westermost part of Cuba, where wee arrived the seven and twentieth of April. But because fresh water could not presently be found, we weyed anchor, and departed, thinking in few dayes to recover the Matanças, a place to the Eastward of Havana.

After wee had sailed some fourteen dayes, wee were brought to Cape S. Anthony againe, through lacke of favourable wind: but then our scarcity was growen such, as neede made us looke a litle better for water, which we found in sufficient quantitie, being indeede, as I judge, none other then raine water newly fallen, and gathered [III. 546.]

up by making pits in a plot of marrish ground, some three hundred pases from the sea side.

A most commendable example of diligence in a Generall.

I doe wrong if I should forget the good example of the Generall at this place, who to encourage others, and to hasten the getting of fresh water aboord the ships, tooke no lesse paine himselfe then the meanest; as also at S. Domingo, Cartagena, and all other places, having alwayes so vigilant a care and foresight in the good ordering of his Fleete, accompanying them, as it is sayde, with such wonderfull travell of body, as doubtlesse had he bene the meanest person, as hee was the chiefest, he had yet deserved the first place of honour: and no lesse happy doe we account him, for being associated with Master Carliel his Lieutenant generall, by whose experience, prudent counsell, and gallant performance he atchieved so many and happy enterprises of the warre, by whom also he was very greatly assisted, in setting downe the needfull orders, lawes, and course of justice, and the due administration of the same upon all occasions.

After three dayes spent in watering our Ships, wee departed now the second time from this Cape of S. Anthony the thirteenth of May, and proceeding about the Cape of Florida, wee never touched any where; but coasting alongst Florida, and keeping the shore still in sight, the 28. of May early in the Morning wee descried on the shore a place built like a Beacon, which was in deede a scaffold upon foure long mastes raised on ende, for men to discover to the seaward, being in the latitude of thirtie degrees, or very neere thereunto. Our Pinnesses manned, and comming to the shore, wee marched up alongst the river side, to see what place the enemie held there: for none amongst us had any knowledge thereof at all.

Here the Generall tooke occasion to march with the companies himselfe in person, the Lieutenant generall having the Vantguard; and going a mile up or somewhat more by the river side, we might discerne on the other side of the river over against us, a Fort which newly had

bene built by the Spaniards: and some mile or thereabout above the Fort was a little Towne or Village without walles, built of woodden houses, as the Plot doeth plainely shew. Wee forthwith prepared to have ordinance for the batterie; and one peece was a litle before the Evening planted, and the first shot being made by the Lieutenant generall himselfe at their Ensigne, strake through the Ensigne, as wee afterwards understood by a French man, which came unto us from them. One shot more was then made, which strake the foote of the Fort wall, which was all massive timber of great trees like Mastes. The Lieutenant generall was determined to passe the river this night with 4. companies, and there to lodge himselfe intrenched as neere the Fort, as that he might play with his muskets and smallest shot upon any that should appeare, and so afterwards to bring and plant the batterie with him: but the helpe of Mariners for that sudden to make trenches could not be had, which was the cause that this determination was remitted untill the next night.

In the night the Lieutenant generall tooke a little rowing Skiffe, and halfe a dozen well armed, as Captaine Morgan, and Captaine Sampson, with some others besides the rowers, & went to view what guard the enemie kept, as also to take knowledge of the ground. And albeit he went as covertly as might be, yet the enemie taking ye Alarme, grew feareful that the whole force was approching to the assault, and therefore with all speede abandoned the place after the shooting of some of their peeces. They thus gone, and hee being returned unto us againe, but nothing knowing of their flight from their Fort, forthwith came a French man being a Phipher (who had bene prisoner with them) in a litle boate, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song; and being called unto by the guard, he tolde them before he put foote out of the boate, what he was himselfe, and how the Spaniards were gone from the Fort, offering either to remaine in hands there, or els to returne to the place with them that would goe. *Nicholas Borgoignon.*

Upon this intelligence, the Generall, the Lieutenant generall, with some of the Captaines in one Skiffe, and the Vice-admirall with some others in his Skiffe, and two or three Pinnesses furnished of souldiers with them, put presently over towards the Fort, giving order for the rest of the Pinnesses to follow. And in our approch, some of the enemie bolder then the rest, having stayed behinde their company, shot off two peeces of ordinance at us: but on shore wee went, and entred the place without finding any man there.

When the day appeared, we found it built all of timber, the walles being none other but whole Mastes or bodies of trees set up right and close together in maner of a pale, without any ditch as yet made, but wholy intended with some more time; for they had not as yet finished al their worke, having begunne the same some three or foure moneths before: so as, to say the trueth, they had no reason to keepe it, being subject both to fire, and easie assault.

[III. 547.] The platforme whereon the ordinance lay, was whole bodies of long pine trees, whereof there is great plentie, layd a crosse one on another, and some litle earth amongst. There were in it thirteene or fourteene great peeces of Brasse ordinance, and a chest unbroken up, having in it the value of some two thousand pounds sterling by estimation of the kings treasure, to pay the souldiers of that place, who were a hundred and fiftie men.

The Fort thus wonne, which they called S. Johns Fort, and the day opened, wee assayed to goe to the towne, but could not by reason of some rivers and broken ground which was betweene the two places: and therefore being enforced to imbarke againe into our Pinnesses, wee went thither upon the great maine river, which is called as also the Towne, by the name of S. Augustin.

At our approching to land, there were some that began to shew themselves, and to bestow some few shot

upon us, but presently withdrew themselves. And in their running thus away, the Sergeant Major finding one of their horses ready sadled and brideled, tooke the same to follow the chase; and so overgoing all his company, was (by one layd behind a bush) shotte through the head: and falling downe therewith, was by the same and two or three more, stabbed in three or foure places of his body with swords and daggers, before any could come neere to his rescue. His death was much lamented, being in very deede an honest wise Gentleman, and a souldier of good experience, and of as great courage as any man might be.

In this place called S. Augustin, we understood the king did keepe, as is before said, one hundred and fiftie souldiers, and at another place some dozen leagues beyond to the Northwards, called S. Helena, he did there likewise keepe an hundred and fiftie more, serving there for no other purpose, then to keepe all other nations from inhabiting any part of all that coast; the governement whereof was committed to one Pedro Melendez Marquesse, nephew to that Melendez the Admiral, who had overthrowen Master John Hawkins in the bay of Mexico some seventeen or eighteene yeeres agoe. This Governour had charge of both places, but was at this time in this place, and one of the first that left the same.

Heere it was resolved in full assembly of Captaines, to undertake the enterprise of S. Helena, and from thence to seeke out the inhabitation of our English countreymen in Virginia, distant from thence some sixe degrees Northward.

Santa Helena.

When wee came thwart of S. Helena, the sholds appearing dangerous, and we having no Pilot to undertake the entrie, it was thought meetest to goe hence alongst. For the Admirall had bene the same night in foure fadome and a halfe, three leagues from the shore: and yet wee understood by the helpe of a knowen Pilot, there may and doe goe in Ships of greater burthen and draught then any we had in our Fleete.

We passed thus alongst the coast hard aboord the shore, which is shallow for a league or two from the shore, and the same is lowe and broken land for the most part.

The ninth of June upon sight of one speciall great fire (which are very ordinarie all alongst this coast, even from the Cape of Florida hither) the Generall sent his Skiffe to the shore, where they found some of our English countreymen (that had bene sent thither the yeere before by Sir Walter Ralegh) and brought them aboord: by whose direction wee proceeded along to the place which they make their Port. But some of our ships being of great draught unable to enter, anchored without the harbour in a wilde roade at sea, about two miles from shore.

From whence the General wrote letters to master Ralfe Lane, being governour of those English in Virginia, and then at his Fort about sixe leagues from the Rode in an *Roanoac.* Island which they call Roanoac, wherein especially he shewed how ready he was to supply his necessities and wants, which he understood of, by those he had first talked withall.

The morrow after, Master Lane himselfe and some of his company comming unto him, with the consent of his captaines he gave them the choice of two offers, that is to say: Either he would leave a ship, a pinnesse, and certaine boates with sufficient Masters and Mariners, together furnished with a moneths victuall, to stay and make farther discovery of the countrey and coastes, and so much victuall likewise as might be sufficient for the bringing of them all (being an hundred and three persons) into England, if they thought good after such time, with any other thing they would desire, and that he might be able to spare.

Or els if they thought they had made sufficient discoverie already, and did desire to returne into England, he would give them passage. But they, as it seemed, being desirous to stay, accepted very thankefully and with great

gladnesse, that which was offred first. Whereupon the ship being appointed and received into charge by some of their owne company sent into her by Master Lane, before they had received from the rest of the Fleete the provision appoynted them, there arose a great storme (which they sayd was extraordinary and very strange) that lasted three dayes together, and put all our Fleete in great danger, to bee driven from their anchoring upon the coast. For we brake many Cables, and lost many Anchors: and some of our Fleete which had lost all (of which number was the [III. 548.] ship appointed for Master Lane and his company) was driven to put to sea in great danger, in avoyding the coast, and could never see us againe untill we mette in England. Many also of our small Pinnesses and boates were lost in this storme.

Notwithstanding after all this, the Generall offred them (with consent of his Captaines) an other ship with some provision, although not such a one for their turnes, as might have bene spared them before, this being unable to be brought into their Harbour. Or els if they would, to give them passage into England, although he knew we should performe it with greater difficultie then he might have done before.

But Master Lane with those of the chiefest of his company which hee had then with him, considering what should be best for them to doe, made request unto the General under their hands, that they might have passage for England: the which being graunted, and the rest sent for out of the countrey and shipped, we departed from that coast the 18. of June.

And so, God bee thanked, both they and wee in good safetie arrived at Portesmouth the 28. of July 1586. to the great glory of God, and to no small honour to our Prince, our Countrey, and our selves.

The totall value of that which was gotten in this voyage is esteemed at three score thousand pounds, whereof the companies which have travelled in the voyage were to have twentie thousand pounds, the adventurers

the other fortie. Of which twentie thousand pounds (as I can judge) will redound some sixe pounds to the single share.

We lost some seven hundred and fiftie men in the voyage: above three parts of them onely by sicknesse.

The men of name that dyed and were slaine in this voyage, which I can presently call to remembrance, are these.

Captaine Powel. Captaine Varney. Captaine Moone. Captaine Fortescue. Captaine Bigges. Captaine Cecill. Captaine Hannam. Captaine Greenefield.

Thomas Tucker a Lieutenant.
Alexander Starkey a Lieutenant.
Master Escot a Lieutenant.
Master Waterhouse a Lieutenant.
Master George Candish.
Master Nicholas Winter.
Master Alexander Carliell.
Master Robert Alexander.
Master Scroope.
Master James Dier.
Master Peter Duke.

With some other, whom for haste I cannot suddenly thinke on.

The ordinance gotten of all sorts Brasse and Iron, were about two hundred and forty peeces, whereof the two hundred and some more were brasse, and were thus found and gotten.

At S. Iago some two or three and fiftie peeces.

In S. Domingo about fourescore, whereof was very much great ordinance, as whole Cannon, Demi-canon, Culverins, and such like.

In Cartagena some sixtie and three peeces, and good store likewise of the greater sort.

In the Fort of S. Augustin were foureteene peeces.

The rest was Iron ordinance, of which the most part was gotten at S. Domingo, the rest at Cartagena.

A relation of the ports, harbors, forts and cities in the west Indies which have bene surveied, edified, finished, made and mended, with those which have bene builded, in a certaine survey by the king of Spaine his direction and commandement: Written by Baptista Antonio, surveyour in those parts for the said King. Anno 1587.

Santa Marta.

Santa Marta situate in 10. degrees and a halfe.

FIrst Santa Marta the principall Citie of the Bishopricke or Dioces of the coast of Tierra firma, or the firme land, lieth in 10. degrees and ½, the city being situated upon a sandy bay adjoyning unto the sea side, conteineth in it about 30. housholds; all the houses being made of canes, and covered over with Palmito trees, and some of them be covered with tyle.

They have traffike with none, but with the Indians of the said country, which doe bring unto the Citie for to [III. 549.] sell earthen Pots and Pipkins, and Coverlits of Cotton wooll, and great earthen Jarres. Also they doe traffique to Cartagena. It is a countrey which hath but small store of cattel, because it is all mountainous, and hath small store of people. There is a very good harbour before the said towne, invironed with mighty hils & great rocks, which reach even unto the sea side, the which hie land doth greatly succour the harbour, as also two Ilands which lie about ¾ of a league on the North side: so that although they be subject to Easterly winds, and that with great stormes, yet they doe no great harme to goe on land. Within this Harbour there is a place which is called La Caldera, where in times past they were woont to trimme and carene their Shippes. As touching the Harbour, there is no cause to fortifie it, nor to make

any account of it, by reason there is no trade nor traffique to this place from any other places, according as I have certified your Majestie thereof. And also because here are but few dwellers or inhabitants, and loosing every day so many as it doeth, by reason that it is every day robbed and spoyled by the enemie. But if your Majestie would command that the fleete of Nova Hispania might direct their course to this Harbour being in their way, and here to water and refresh themselves, all the Pilots doe say that the Fleete may proceede on their Voyage from this place, still going before the winde, and so goe to the Cape of Saint Anthony which lieth on the Iland of Cuba, and from thence goe their direct course to Nova Hispania; and by this meanes the Fleete should have no occasion to passe so many dangers as they doe, by reason of the Huricanos or stormy windes which many times do come upon them, when they are upon the coast of Hispaniola: and this is the cause that there are so many ships cast away, as your Majestie doeth well know.

A new course to Nova Hispania, by the way of Santa Marta lesse subject to danger then the ordinary course.

And as concerning this course according as I have certified your Majestie, they shall come into no danger at all, nor shall make any further way about; so by this meanes both the Fleetes may come from Spaine in company, and then come to S. Marta, and the Fleete of Nova Hispania may come into this Harbour, and the Fleete which doeth goe unto the firme land, may goe directly to Cartagena as they doe. Then your Majestie may send to fortifie the said Harbour, and the fortification must be thus: That on the morro or mount which is in the entring in of the said harbour, there be built a litle Fort, and so to plant some small quantitie of ordinance. And hard by on the South side, there to build a litle Towre, and another Sconce, where wee may plant some more ordinance. So by this meanes not onely the Shippes may ride heere in securitie, but also it will bee a defence for those which dwell heere in the Towne: and the better to effect this purpose, there is hard by the Towne great

store of Lyme, Stone, Sande, and Tymber, if occasion should serve.

Cartagena.

CArtagena is a Citie, and the principall place of the Bishopricke; it lyeth fourtie leagues from Santa Marta: it standeth in scant 11. degrees. The sayd Citie is situated upon a sandy banke or bay like unto an Iland: it hath about 450. dwellers therein. There are very faire buildings therein: as concerning their houses, they are made of stone, and there are three Monasteries, of which two of them are of Friers which are within the city, the one called Santo Domingo, and the other called Santo Augustin, and the other which is called Saint Francis, which standeth without the citie about 30. paces off. And for to goe unto the said Frierie, you must goe upon a Causey made of stone, and water on both sides. This citie hath great trade out of Spaine, and out of The new kingdome of Granada, and out of the Ilands there adjoyning, from Peru, and from all the coast of this firme land, and of the fishing of the pearles of Rio de la Hacha, and of Margarita: it is a very sound countrey.

Cartagena situate in 11 degrees scant.

This Citie hath a very good Harbour, and sufficient to receive great store of Ships: this said Harbour hath two entrances in, the one of them lyeth halfe a league from the Citie, where all the Ships doe enter into the sayd Harbour: the mouth or entring in of the sayde Harbour is 1400. yardes or paces in bredth, and very deepe water. The other entring in which is called La boca chica, or litle mouth, lieth a league beyond this place to the westwards. It is 900. yards in bredth, and in the entring in thereof there lieth a channel in the midst of it, which is 200. yards broad, and 20. or 15. fadome water, some places more, some lesse. And to enter into the Harbour you must go through this channel, and the land doth double in and out. And at the entring in of the sayde Harbour, after you have past this Channell, you must beare up to the shoareward neere unto the Iland of Cares, and looke

how much is overplus more than the two hundred yardes of the Channell, all the rest are certaine ledges of Rockes, covered with two or three foote water upon the toppe of them, some places more, and some lesse. So the ships [III. 550.] which must enter in at the mouth, must bring very good Pilots with them, which must be very skilfull: yet all this will not serve, but they must carry their Boate before, and sound with their Lead to know where the best place of the Channell lyeth for them to goe in, so it will be small hinderance to any shippe that shall enter, neither yet danger at all of sinking.

Francis Drake. There are three places about the sayde Citie, where the Enemie may give an attempt by Land. The one of them is where the enemie did enter in and landed, which is a sandy Bay, and on the other side of the Bay is the Sea, and on the other side a great Lake which goeth towards the Harbour. The sandy bay or banke, on the one side is 500. yardes broad, all sandy ground without any trees. So that the enemie which giveth the assault in this place must bee constrayned to march all alongst this sandie Bay, the enemie lying open these 500. yardes, which reach untill you doe come to the trench: And on the backside other 500. yardes, till you doe come unto the Citie.

The sayde sandie bay or banke is 130. yardes broad, where the trench is builded. And in this place this Citie hath bene taken by the enemie twise. Wherefore heere wee have driven in a great many of woodden stakes, which goe downe into the sea 50. yardes deepe: and this wee have done, because this is a very dangerous and filthy coast. And below in the bottome of the Valley there we have builded a little Sconce, where we may plant 3. or 4. peeces of ordinance. And likewise wee have made a deepe ditch, which doeth answere to both parts of the sea; so on this side the Citie is very strong and sufficient. For this was the place whereof the Citizens were most afrayde.

The other entring is lower downe by the sayde sandy

Bay, which is called Cienaga, or The fenne del Roreado. This is another place which is on the sayd sandy bay, which is 300. yardes broad from the one place downe to the sea. And on the other side there lyeth the Cienaga, which is a certaine plat of ground that is overflowen with water all the yeere long. So that the enemie which shall come this way to winne the Citie, must come marching over land a good way upon a sandie banke or Bay, where the Sea lyeth on the one side, and a grove or boske of wood on the other side, and through a plat of ground which is overflowen with water, but not all covered. So in this place wee have made a Fort or Sconce with certaine Flanckers belonging therunto. And I have caused a deepe ditch to be digged of 60. foote in bredth, so that the Sea doeth come to that plat or place which is overflowen. And in this order we have stopt this passage, so that the Citie standeth in maner like unto an Iland. There is 2600. yardes distance from this place to the other trench where the enemie Francis Drake did land last.

The entring in of this Harbour is by the bridge and Causey which doeth goe from the Citie to S. Francis; the sayd Causey is 300. yardes in length, and 12. yardes in bredth: and the water is on both the sides of the saide Causey: so this is the strongest place of all the rest of the three places. Also in this place there is order taken to make a draw bridge, and upon the top of the said bridge to build a platforme, and plant ordinance upon it: and on both sides of the bridge there are certaine trenches made, where our men may be close kept.

At the point of this land called ycacos, which is in the entring in of the harbour towards S. Anna, we have made a Fort of timber fouresquare of 300. foote every way, and trencht, where wee may plant 15. or 16. peeces of ordinance, and keepe 50. men in garison, and behinde the bourdes on the backside of the timbers, a Barricado of earth or mudde wall being foure foote in thicknesse, and behinde the mud-wall, sand: so this Fort will bee of

great importance for safegard of this Harbour, because all the Shippes which doe enter into this Harbour doe come close to this place where it is strongest, so that sometimes one may cast a stone into the ships when they are comming in: and when any ship of warre or Pirate will give any attempt to enter into this Harbour, there is order given that the two galleys shall go forth, and put themselves behinde the Fort with their prows to the sea, and so shooting at their enemies in the forepart of the ship, and then the Fort answering likewise with their ordinance at the side of the shippe, and at their tackling, so the enemie being in the Harbour all unrigged, they must of necessitie be constrained to lye hovering within the Harbour, or els they must drive upon the rockes called the Ismo, or els upon those rocks which are covered with the sea at the Iland of Cares.

The gallies of Cartagena.

And put case that in this place we can doe no good by this meanes, and that the enemie will venture to come in with their long boates & Pinnesses through this narrow mouth; then we are to have in a readinesse 4. Frigats to ayde and helpe the gallies, & to row with oares, and so to go to the narrow mouth, and there to stay in the channell. And forasmuch as the entring in is so dangerous, according as I have certified your Majestie, there can no ship come into this harbour, but we must needes sinke them; so that these defences shall not onely bee annoyance to the enemie, but also animate and encourage the inhabitants of this citie: for they have beene and are in such feare of the enemie, and pirates, that if wee had not made these fortifications, strengthened the citie in this order, and put some souldiers in garison, the citizens would have fledde, and forsaken this citie: for all the perswasions made to them by the governour coulde not perswade them to the contrary, but they would bee gone, if it had not beene for this fortification, and yet for all this wee have much to doe to make them to stay here: so nowe by reason of these souldiers which shall come hither, the people of the citie have taken

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heart of grasse: so I have tolde them that your majestie will command that this citie and the harbour shall be better fortified and made stronger, and all this which I have caused to be builded, is with that money which I have borowed of the citizens.

The poynt of Ycacos.

As touching the safegard and defence of this harbour, if your majestie so please, here may we builde a very faire and strong castle with foure bulwarks, on the poynt of the Ycacos which doth lie on the side where the citie is builded, because all the shippes which doe come to this harbour, must come close abord this shore, so neere, that wee may cast a stone into them, and so overtake any ship. So likewise if the shippes will goe on the other shore, then they doe goe in greater danger, because of those shoalds and ledges of rockes, and so are often cast away. And forasmuch as those ships which here doe arrive are brought hither by Easterly winds, and sometimes with those winds which come out from the sea, and therefore perforce must give a good birth off, otherwise they cannot enter into this harbour, therefore of necessity they must come so close to the shore: And on the other side where the Island of Cares standeth, there may wee builde another tower foure-square, and plant some foure or five pieces of ordinance, and this will serve for the night, if occasion be offered that any small shippe or barke should come in here, or any pinnesse in the night, to doe any harme, or to attempt to burne any Fleete which shoulde ride here at an anker within this harbour: so the fort beeing on the one side, and the tower on the other side, keeping good watch, there can no shippe nor barke come into this harbour, but they will bee espied.

In the narrow mouth at the entring in the other way towardes the Island of Cares, where the channell doth runne neere the shore, as I have already certified your majestie, there may another castle be made, and there foure or five pieces of ordinance planted, and some sixe or eight men to keepe watch and ward: this being done,

your majestie shall have this citie very well fortified, by reason it is of such importance for the service of your majestie, and the trade of all Spaine and Peru, and all the Indies: for this is the principall fort of all this countrey.

Over against this point of the Ycacos, in the Isle of Cares, hard by the water side, there are great store of stones, free stones, and other stones to make lyme, and wood to burne the stones withall for the lyme, and great part of the stones doe lie about the water: so the wood will cost but the cutting of it downe, and the working of it, and with little paines taking it will bee brought to good perfection, for wee have already made triall thereof, for there was never building that went to decay after it hath bene made, nor perished by the sea: so the charge hereof will be but litle or nothing.

And for to put this in practise to build a fort, it is needefull that your majestie should send hither and to many other places, where any fort shall bee made, some store of Negros, and to this place would be sent 150 Negros brought from Guyney: and if the Negros of Havana are not to bee imployed there, nor those which are in Sant Juan de Ullua, it may please your majestie to cause them to bee sent for to this place, for most of them be artificers, some masons, bricklayers, smithes and sawyers, and to send some masons from Spaine to teach our men these occupations. And after these fortifications are ended and all furnished, then the Negros may be solde to great profit, for a Negro that is of any occupation is sold here for 600. and 700. pezos.

Nombre de Dios.

NOmbre de Dios is builded upon a sandy Bay hard by the sea side, it is a citie of some thirtie housholdes or inhabitants: their houses are builded of timber, and most of the people which are there be forreiners, they are there to day and gone to morrow: it is full of woods and some places of the land are overflowen

with water continually by reason of much raine which doth fall upon the hils. It is a very bad harbour, neither is there any good water: and it is subject to Northerly winds and Easterly windes, which continually doe blow upon this coast: many of the great ships which doe come to this place doe unlade halfe their commodities betweene the two ledges of rockes, for that there is but little water in the harbour: and after that a ship hath [III. 552.] unladen halfe of her goods, then shee goeth to the second rocke, as it doth appeare by the platforme, but the small ships come neere unto another rocke on the West side. If the winde chance to come to the North and Northwest, and that it overblowe, then such great ships as then be in the roade must of force more themselves with sixe cables a head, especially in a storme, and yet nevertheless sometimes they are driven ashore and so cast away, and all because they dare not vier cable ynough, because of so many shelves and rockes which are in both those places: also the shippes doe roule very much in the harbour, by reason in foule weather the Sea will bee mightily growen, which is the cause that their cables do oftentimes breake, and their ruthers are unhanged, the cause thereof is by reason the shippes doe ride but in little water, yet goeth there a great sea.

The citie is builded and situated very well if it were a good harbour, it standeth upon the Eastside upon a rocke where they may builde a very good fort, according to the platforme for the safegard of this harbour: but seeing it is but a bad haven and shallow water, therefore I doe thinke that it is not needefull for your majestie to be at any charges in fortifying that place, but onely a trench to be made of earth or clay, so that these townesmen may defend themselves from danger of 3. or 4. ships.

The citie of Panama is eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the wayes are exceeding bad thitherwards; yet notwithstanding all the silver is brought this way to Nombre de Dios, as well your majesties treasure

as other marchandize; so likewise the most part of those commodities which are caried to Peru, and the rest of the marchandize are carried to the river of Chagre which is some 18 leagues from this citie and it is brought up by this river within five leagues of Panama unto an Inne or lodge called Venta de Cruzes, and from this place afterwards they are transported to Panama upon Mules. The high way which goeth from Nombre de Dios to Panama may be very wel mended, only to remoove this way and to stop it quite up, and so to make it againe upon the side of a mountaine.

Nombre de Dios in 9. deg. and one tierce.

This citie lieth in nine degrees and one tierce, and if your majestie will give order that this citie should be plucked downe and newly builded againe in Puerto Bello, then you are to make a new way through the mountains of Capira, by reason it may not be frequented and because the high wayes are very bad: with little charges they may be broken and so shut up, and the channell of this harbour may bee stopt with the timber of those old ships which are laid up here every yeere, and then afterwards may be cast a great number of stones into the same, and so by this meanes to damme up the harbour: and here is great want of stones to ballast the shippes: wherefore they are faine to goe to an Island three leagues from Cartagena called Isla de los Bastimentos, and this is a thing very needefull for this Countrey, as by experience I have seene.

Puerto Bello.

PUerto Bello lieth five leagues from Nombre de Dios Westward: It is a very good harbour and sufficient to receive great store of ships, and hath very good ankering, and fresh water: for neere the shore you shall find some sixe fathome water, and in the middest of the same harbour you shall find twelve fathome, very good and cleane ground or sand, without eyther banks or rockes. There are twelve small rivers or brookes of water which doe belong to this harbour, and so doe meete all together:

so that the fleete may at all times provide themselves of fresh water so much as shall serve their turnes. And like wise there is in this place great store of timber to build shippes, and stones to ballast shippes. Also the harbour hath no danger at all in comming in, but onely when the wind is Westerly, which is seldome seene upon this coast. The windes which doe most blowe upon this coast are Northerly windes, and they are more dangerous and hurtfull then the Easterly windes are. Within this harbour there lieth a small creeke safe from all winds that can blow. This creek is about five hundred yards long, and so many in breadth, and in the entring in of this creekes mouth it is some 300. yardes broad, and foure fathome and a halfe of water: and entring further in, sixe fathome, all oaze and muddie ground: so that if a ship should chance to strike or come aground, shee could take no harme being soft oaze; also it doth ebbe and flow according as I have certified your majestie already.

And likewise the comming in and going out of this harbour is very good; and with all kinde of weather a shippe may set saile from this place except with a Westerly wind: and all this coast is very cleane where a shippe at all times may come to anker without the harbours mouth. This harbour is invironed round about with woods: and at the ende of this harbour there is certaine land which is overflowen with water: it may bee easily dryed up and walled round about, so this land [III. 553.] will serve very well to feede cattell. For that is the chiefest thing which doth belong to any citie or towne, and of this pasture ground there is great want in Nombre de Dios, for there is no pasture at all to breede cattell, for all kinde of flesh which is spent in this place is brought from Panama: so towards the South there is a very good place, where the citie may bee newe built on a certaine plaine ground which lieth at the foot of certaine mountaines, which bee not very high; and in this place there runne three little rivers of fresh water very sweete and good, and here is good arable ground to till and to

sow Maiz and other kinds of graine. Also in this circuite there are great stones to make lyme, and these stones must needes proove very good as I doe thinke, but we never had any triall thereof.

This harbour hath all things necessary to builde a citie, where your majestie may have your armies and fleetes of shippes to ride at an anker in safetie without danger of loosing: and it is a very healthful countrey, and where the citie shall be builded it is all stony ground: and forasmuch as the raine water which doth fall from the mountaines may doe hurt unto the citie, there at the foote of the mountaine wee will make a great pond to receive in all the water which doth fall from the mountaines, and so from thence to goe into the sea, as more at large your majestie may see by my platforme.

If it would please your majestie, it were good that the citie of Nombre de Dios might bee brought and builded in this harbour: it would not bee very chargeable unto the citizens by reason that all their houses are made of timber, and they may benefite themselves with the same againe, and likewise with the tyles of their houses: the greatest charge will bee to land timber and to cut downe the mountaine of wood.

If it please your majestie that the sayd citie of Nombre de Dios should bee builded in this harbour the first thing which must be finished is to make up this high way, and so to pull downe the Church which is in Nombre de Dios, and the Contractation house, and so newe build it in this harbour: and then to command all the fleetes of shippes from time to time to come and unlade their goods in this sayd Puerto Bello: And that those marchants and factors of Spaine which are lygers in Panama and Nombre de Dios, shall come to this harbour and builde anew their warehouses for receiving of their goods. So by these meanes in short time it will be greatly inhabited with people: also the fleete shall not passe so many dangers as they dayly doe in Nombre de Dios: neither will there so many people die as there dayly doe in Nombre de

Dios: and the cause thereof is, that those labouring men which doe use to unlade those marchandize, are all the whole day wading in the water up to the armepits to bring the packs of cloth and other commodities aland; for there is no landing place where there can come any boates to land any goods close to the shore, so this wading and the parching of the Sunne is the cause why so many doe dye of a burning fever. There are but 60. dwelling houses in Nombre de Dios, and but thirtie dwellers which doe continually dwell there, and the rest doe goe to Panama after the fleete is gone, and then this Towne doeth remayne desolate, every man forsaking it because it is so full of diseases.

In the entring in of this harbour for the more securitie thereof and defence of the towne it is needefull to build upon the toppe of the mount which lyeth to the Northward, a little fort fouresquare that will hold foure or five pieces of ordinance, and to appoynt sixe men to watch and ward; and this beeing done wee shall have no occasion to make any more defence, by reason the countrey is full of rocks and filthy wayes, and all full of woods round about the harbour.

And so likewise on the other side to builde a little tower in maner of a fort, with eight pieces of ordinance and five and twentie souldiers to keepe it. And this will bee of more importance because it must be builded on the towne side. And a little beyond this place on the Northside there lyeth a creeke, where there is a very good ankering in eight fathome water: so this fort beeing builded in this place it will defend the harbour and offend the enemy: and will defend the coast along and a poynt of the land which doth runne from the East to the West, and reacheth to the Iland of Buena Ventura. And put case that the fort which is builded on the other side doth decay, or be taken by the enemy, with this other fort wee may defend the citie very well, if the enemy should chance to come into the harbour, and bee succoured and holpen by the

citizens, and twenty musketters being planted upon a mount which lieth over the fort, will bee sufficient to defende us from a good many of our enemies, that shoulde come to assault us, because all the countrey is full of rockes and stones, and full of mountaines. So from this wood there may a way be made to goe to the citie, and to joyne with that way which shall goe to Panama; and this may bee done with small charges. This harbour doth lie in nine degrees and one tierce, and if occasion shoulde serve wee may stop up the way which doth goe [III. 554.] to Capira, and the rest of the wayes which goe from Nombre de Dios to Venta de Cruzes, according as it is certified me by the Negros called Simerons; for they told me that this way would not bee very troublesome. Although in the Winter it is reported that here is good store of water in this place, which in the Sommer is all dryed up, and where these waters are, there we may builde a causey, to which purpose there are great quantities of stones and timber very serviceable: so this way may bee made with that treasure which your majestie doeth receive of the averages and customes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which doth amount unto twelve or foureteene thousand pezos yeerely: and an order might be taken for the same, that the sayd money may serve for the building and reparing of these wayes.

Panama.

PAnama is the principall citie of this Dioces: it lieth 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios on the South sea, and standeth in 9. degrees. There are 3. Monasteries in this said city of fryers, the one is of Dominicks, the other is of Augustines, and the third is of S. Francis fryers: also there is a College of Jesuits, and the royall audience or chancery is kept in this citie.

This citie is situated hard by the sea side on a sandy bay: the one side of this citie is environed with the sea, and on the other side it is enclosed with an arme of the sea which runneth up into the land 1000. yards.

This citie hath three hundred and fiftie houses, all built of timber, and there are sixe hundred dwellers and eight hundred souldiers with the townesmen, and foure hundred Negros of Guyney, and some of them are freemen: and there is another towne which is called Santa Cruz la Real of Negros Simerons, and most of them are imployed in your majesties service, and they are 100. in number, and this towne is a league from this citie upon a great rivers side, which is a league from the sea right over against the harbour of Pericos. But there is no trust nor confidence in any of these Negros, and therefore we must take heede and beware of them, for they are our mortall enemies.

Panama hath 350 houses.

Negros Simerons mortall enemies to the Spanyards.

There are three sundry wayes to come to this citie, besides the sea, where the enemy may assault us. The one is at the bridge which is builded upon the river: and on the one side of this, there lieth a creeke: so on this side the citie is very strong, because it is all soft muddie ground, for in no way they cannot goe upon it. And right over against it there lyeth a river which is in maner like unto a ditch or moate; and on the other side of the River there lyeth a great Lake or Pond which is full of water all the Winter, and part of the Sommer, so that on this side the city is very strong, for with very small store of souldiers this place might bee kept verie well.

The greatest danger for the surprising of this citie is the way that doth come from Nombre de Dios: for all this way is playne ground and no woods: and 2000 yardes from this citie there lyeth a river called Lavanderas, where the women doe use to wash their linnen: and this river doth goe into the creeke, according as I have certified your majestie: and being once past this river, there is a causey which goeth directly unto them. The other way which doth go towards the citie is lower downe towards the sea at a stone bridge lying upon the way which goeth to the harbour of Perico. These two wayes cannot be kept nor resisted, because it is all plaine ground and medowes.

The best way to take Panama.

Perico.

Upon the East side of this citie there are your majesties royall houses builded upon a rocke joyning hard to the Sea side, and they doe aswell leane towards the sea as the land. The royall audience or chancerie is kept here in these houses, and likewise the prison. And in this place all your majesties treasure is kept. There dwelleth in these houses your majesties Treasurer, the Lord President, and 3. Judges, and master Atturney. All these doe dwell in these houses, and the rest of your majesties officers: which are sixe houses besides those of the Lord President, the which are all dwelling houses, and all adjoyning together one by another along upon the rockes. And they are builded all of timber and bourdes, as the other houses are. So where the prison standeth and the great hall, these two places may bee very well fortified, because they serve so fitly for the purpose, by reason they are builded towardes the sea, and that there lye certaine small rocks, which at a lowe water are all discovered and drie, and some of them are seene at a high water. Right over these houses to the Eastwardes there lyeth an Island about five hundred yardes from these houses, and the Island is in forme of a halfe moone; and in this order it runneth all alongst very neere the maine land: so over against these houses there lyeth the harbour where all the shippes doe use to ride at an anker, after that they have discharged and unladen their marchandize. For when they have their lading aboord, there can come in none but small Barkes, and at a lowe water the shippes are all aground and drie, and so is all the space some thirtie yardes from those houses. Right over against them standeth the citie.

An Island in the harbour of Panama.

[III. 555.]

When newes were brought to this citie of those Pirates which were come upon this coast, the Lord President and Judges commanded that there should a sconce bee made, and trenched round about, made all of timber for the defence of this citie against the enemie, and to keepe your majesties treasure. So your officers caused Venta de Cruzes to be fortified, and likewise

Places good to land in.

Chagre, and Quebrada, and fortified the garrison of Ballano: for all these are places where the enemy may land, and by this meanes spoyle all this countrey.

There are three sundry places where this citie may without difficulty be taken, and spoyled by the Pirates. The first is on the North seas in a certaine place which lyeth foureteene leagues from Nombre de Dios, the place is called Aele to the Eastwards, where once before certaine men of warre have entred into those seas. The other place is Nombre de Dios, although this is a bad place and naughtie wayes, and full of waters and a very dirtie way: for three partes of the yeere the countrey people doe travell upon those waters, and an other very badde way, which is the going up of certaine rockes and mountaines which they must climbe, called the mountaines of Capira, which are of height three quarters of a league, so in this place with very small store of souldiers wee can defend our selves from the fury of the enemie, so these dwellers doe say that in Sommer the wayes are very good without either dirt or water.

1. *Place.*

2. *Place. This was Oxenham.*

The other entrance is up the river of Chagre, which rivers mouth lyeth eighteene leagues from Nombre de Dios to the Westwards falling into the North sea, and this is the place which the citizens of Panama doe most feare, for they may come up this river to Venta de Cruzes, and so from thence march to this citie, which is but five leagues off. So up this river there goe boates and barkes which doe carry 320. Quintals waight. These are they which carry the most part of the marchandize which doe come from Spaine to be transported to Peru, and from Venta de Cruzes it is carried to Limaret which is three leagues off that place, and the dwellers doe report that it is a very good way: and if any men of warre will attempt to come into these seas, they may very easily come up this river as farre as Venta de Cruzes, and from thence march unto this citie, and if the enemy will, they may bring their pinnesses ready made in foure quarters, and so taken in sunder, may

3. *Place.*

The place of most advantage for the English.

afterwards set them together againe: as it is reported that Francis Drake hath used it once before when he came that voyage; and so he may attempt us both by sea and land. And forasmuch as the most part of these people are marchants, they will not fight, but onely keepe their owne persons in safetie, and save their goods; as it hath bene sene heretofore in other places of these Indies.

So if it will please your majesty to cause these houses to bee strongly fortified, considering it standeth in a very good place if any sudden alarms shoulde happen, then the citizens with their goods may get themselves to this place, and so escape the terrour of the enemy: and so this will be a good securitie for all the treasure which doth come from Peru. So all the Pirats and rebels, which have robbed in these parts, have gone about what they can to stoppe this passage, and so by this meanes to stoppe the trade of Spaine, and to set souldiers in this place, for to intercept and take your majesties treasure, whereby none might be caried into Spaine. Therefore it behooveth your majestie to fortifie these places very strongly.

Rebellion feared in the West Indies.

These places being fortified in this maner, your majesty shal have al your gold and silver brought home in safetie which commeth from Peru. And all those commodities which are laden in Spaine may come safe to this place. And if perchance any rebels should rise in these parts, which would rebel against your majesty, which God forbid, & if they should chance to joyn with any of these pirats, having this place so wel fortified, & Puerto Bello in ye North parts, & so to send some garrison your majestie needs not to feare: for here in this harbor are alwayes 10 or 12 barks of 60 or 50 tunnes apiece, which do belong to this harbor. So if any of these places shalbe intercepted, then your majestie hath no other place fitter then this to land your majesties souldiers, for then they have but 18. leagues to march by land, & presently they may be

shipped to supply these places which shal stand in most need of them. In al the coast of Peru there is no harbour that hath any shipping but onely this place, and the citie of Lima, where there are some ships and barks. The harbour being thus open without any defence, a man of war may very easily come to this place, as I have certified your majestie, thorow the streits of Magellane, & arrive at that instant, when those barks, do come from Peru with your majesties gold & silver, for sometimes they bring 5 or 6 millions in those barks; so the enemy may come and take al their treasure, & not leese one man, because here is not one man to resist him, therefore this place being thus fortified, the treasure may be kept in the fort. There is a trench made round about your majesties houses which are builded of timber: the President and Judges did cause it to be made, for that here was newes brought that there were certaine men of warre, & pirats comming for these parts. So this trench is thus maintained until such time as your majesties pleasure is to the contrary, & in such wise that your souldiers may fight lying behind the trench; so there is order given to build a platforme upon the plaine ground, and so to plant such ordinance in those places, as shall be thought most convenient.

5. or 6. millions of gold & silver.

[III. 556.]

If it wil please your majestie, here we may make a sconce or fort toward the land side, & so trench it round about and build it with stone, because here is a place and al things readie for the same purpose; and by this meanes the citie would be securely kept: as for the sea there is no danger at al, by reason that the water doth ebbe & flow twise a day, and then when it is ebbing water it wil be all ozy & muddy ground and rocks, so that in no wise at a low water the enemy can wade over the mud to come to this city, and it reacheth from the Island til you come to the bridge called Paita. Two leagues from this city there lieth a harbor called Perico downe to the Westward: this is

The harbour of Perico.

a very sure harbour by reason of 3. Islands which do joyne in maner of a halfe moone, they lie halfe a league from the maine, the Islands do enclose the harbor round about, the harbour is a very high land, & the Ilands are but reasonable high, there is good store of fresh water: also there hath never any ship bene cast away in this harbour, for there is 7. fathome water at ful sea, and 3 or 4 fathome at lower water, and very good ground for their ankering, and when they will trimme their ships, they may hale them ashore. All those ships and barks which come from Peru with gold, silver or any other kind of commodities, do first come to an anker in this harbour, and if they have a contrary weather they cannot come into the harbour of Panama; and for so much as the harbour hath no defence for the safegard of the ships, if a man of warre should chance to come into the harbour, all the barks with the treasure may be very easily taken. And likewise these barks & ships which do navigate in the South seas carrie not so much as one piece of ordinance or a rapier to defend them withall. From this place to Venta de Cruzes is not passing 5 leagues; so that if any pinnesse should happen to arrive there, no doubt but they might robbe and take al your treasure which is in those barks, by reason that from the shore they cannot be rescued nor holpen, because it is an Island and refuge for all ships and barks. If it would please your majestie here might some fort or defence bee made in the middlemost Island, and some ordinance planted, and this might bee made with little charges, because in the said Island there are all kinde of necessaries fit for that purpose, so by this meanes your majestie may have both the harbour and the citie very well kept.

Nota.

A new way into the south-sea.

And likewise there is another entring into the South sea which is called the river of Francisca, which lieth on this side of the Cabeça de Cativa, and this river doth come into another river which is called Caracol, and is

five leagues from this citie; and once before these Simerons brought into this place certaine Frenchmen.

The river of Chagre.

THe river of Chagre lieth in 9. degrees and one tierce. The mouth of this river is in the North seas 18. leagues from Nombre de Dios, and 13. leagues from Puerto Bello: there is caryed up this river certaine quantitie of those merchandize which are unladen at Nombre de Dios which come from Spaine. From the mouth of this river to Venta de Cruzes are eighteene leagues. From this place where the barkes unlade their commodities, they are carried upon mules to Panama, which is but five leagues off from this place.

These five leagues are very good ground or champion countrey.

This river hath great store of water in the Winter. And the barkes which belong to this river are commonly of 320. Quintals that is of 16. tunnes in burthen: but in the Summer there is but small store of water: so then the barkes have much to doe to get up this river: and in many places these barks are constrained to unlade their commodities; and are drawen by mens strength and force a good way up the river, and therefore if it would please your majestie to command that all those goods may bee first unladen in Puerto Bello, and there to build a litle castle in the mouth of the said river, and at the foote of the castle to build a storehouse to unlade and keepe all the sayd goods, and there to build other barks of lesse burthen: then these would serve for Sommer, and the great barks for the Winter.

If it would please your majestie, there might a very good high way be made on the one side of the river, and so they might bee towed, for it may bee made and not with much cost because it is all plaine ground, and there is growing upon the sayd river great store of timber and trees which doe lie overthwart the said River; so that they are very cumbersome and great annoiance unto the said boates, aswell those [III. 557.]

that go up the said River, as also that doe come downe the said River.

And therefore if it might please your majestie to command, that Puerto Bello might be inhabited, and the towne made neerer the Rivers side, every thing would be a great deale better cheape, if the commodities were caryed up the River: for it is a great danger to cary them up by land, for it is daily seene that the mules do many times fall and breake their neckes with their lading upon their backs, as well the treasure as other kinde of commodities, because it is such a bad way. And your majestie might be at this charges and spend your revenewes of Nombre de Dios and Panama, which do yerely yield 12 or 14 thousand pezos, & this being once done it would be a great ayd and benefit to those, which doe trade and trafficke, and to those merchantes which doe send their goods over-land, and ease them much of paine and purse, because the other is a most filthy way, as any is in the world.

A briefe remembrance of a voyage made in the yeere 1589 by William Michelson Captaine, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, Master of a ship called the Dogge, to the Bay of Mexico in the West India.

THe aforesaide ship called the Dogge, of the burthen of threescore and ten tunnes was furnished, and armed forth with the number of fortie men: it departed from the coast of England in the moneth of May, directly for the West India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with divers Spanish ships at sundry times, whereof three fel into her lapse and were forced to yeeld unto the mercie of the English: the last that they met within the Bay was a Spanish man of warre, whom the English chased, and after three severall fightes, upon three divers

dayes, pressed him so farre that he entreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was granted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboord the English. Where after conference about those matters that had passed in the fight betwixt them, they received reasonable intertainement and a quiet farewell. The Spanish, as if they had ment to requite the English courtesie, invited our men to their shippe, who perswading themselves of good meaning in the Spanish, went aboord: but honest and friendly dealing was not their purpose, suddenly they assaulted our men, and one with a dagger stabde Roger Kingsnod the English Pilote to the heart and slewe him, and others were served with the like sauce, onely William Mace the Master & others, notwithstanding al the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept overboord into the sea, and so came safe to their own ship: and directing his course for England, arrived at Plimouth the tenth day of September, 1589, laden with wines, yron, Roans, which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arrivall of the rest of his consorts, whereof one and the principall hath not long since obtained his Port. Thus much in generall termes onely I have as yet learned, and received touching this voyage, extracted out of letters sent from the aforesaid William Mace, to Master Edward Wilkinson of Towre-hill in London. My principall intention by this example is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtill enemie, and never to trust the Spanish further, then that their owne strength shall be able to master them: for otherwise whosoever shall through simplicitie trust their curtesie, shall by tryall taste of their assured crueltie.

Spanish treason.

[Certaine Spanish

Certaine Spanish Letters intercepted by shippes of the worshipfull Master John Wattes written from diverse places of the islandes and of the maine land as well of Nueva Espanna, as of Tierra Firma and Peru, containing many secrets touching the aforesaid countreys, and the state of the South Sea, and the trade to the Philippinas.

A letter sent from Havana in Cuba from the general of the fleete John de Orimo to the king of Spaine the 18 of October 1590, touching the building of certaine excellent Frigats, &c.

IT may please your majestie that at the date hereof one of the Frigates was lanched: and three more will be ready against the fleete depart from hence. They are very bigge and excellent of sayle, which will carie 150 men a piece with souldiers and mariners. And having good ordinance, there are fewe or none of our enemies that can offend us. For wee shall both leave and take at all [III. 558.] times when we list. But it behooveth your majestie to send both souldiers and mariners to man the Frigats. For we have great want of souldiers and mariners, with tackling, ankers, powder, shot, calivers, and all kinde of furniture for them. For these things are not here to bee had for money: and likewise to send some great ordinance for the Zabras. For the merchants ships are so weake and so unprovided, that they have almost none to defend themselves. Also we shall be constrained to give the carena againe unto al the ships; for they are very weake by reason of the long voyage: and the mariners and souldiers are wearie with their long travelling and keeping of them here. Thus if it would please your majestie to

command with all expedition that these souldiers and mariners with all kinde of other furniture might be sent us, then the fleete may set forward and so proceede on their voyage. God preserve your Catholike royal majestie. From Havana the 20 of October 1590.

Your majesties servant, whose royall feet I kisse.
JOHN DE ORIMO General of your Fleete.

A Letter sent from the Governour of Havana John de Trexeda, to the King of Spaine, the twentieth of October 1590, touching the wants of that place.

BY three shippes which departed from this Harbour since the Fleetes arrivall here, I have given your majestie at large to understand, what hath happened as much as I can, and what thing is here to be done in this citie, and what your majestie must provide. And now once againe I will returne to put your majestie in minde thereof. I beseech your majestie to command to be provided and to be sent hither two hundred Negros, if you will have this fortification to goe forwardes: because your majestie is here at great charges with the master workeman and the Officers. And for want of Pioners the worke goeth not forwardes. For as the worke goeth dayly forward and increaseth farther and farther, so we want men to worke, and to garde it, and likewise to keep it. We dare not meddle with those of the Galies. And likewise it may please your majestie to send new working tooles of yron, according to a remembrance which I have sent to your majestie of late, which doeth signifie our wants more at large.

The newe fortification in Havana.

Likewise it is needeful that your majestie should send powder and match to furnish these forts. And likewise to send money to pay those souldiers which are newly come hither, & for that companie of souldiers which were

Souldiers sent to Havana.

sent from Mexico to this place. For it behooveth your majestie not to have them as yet left, till such time as the defences about the forts bee finished, and that which is in building upon the hill, which will be ended very shortly if you send the Negros and yron tooles.

A fort upon an hill.

Likewise I have certified your majestie, that with all speed I am making ready of the five Frigates, that they may cary all the treasure. Also John de Orimo seeing that it is of so great importance to have them dispatched, doeth furnish mee with some money, although somewhat scantly, untill such time as your majestie doth send him some order therefore. I beseech you to command it to bee done; considering the great charges and expences that we are at here, as by the accounts your Majestie shall more at large perceive, what hath bene spent. These Frigats will be made an end of without all doubt by the moneth of Februarie: but as yet their tackling and sayles are not here arrived: but I doe stay the comming thereof every day, according as the Duke of Medina and John de Ibarra have written unto me, that those ships which should bring the same were ready to depart from thence. All these things it behooveth your Majestie to send in time: for I can assure your Majestie that you shall not have upon the sea such good shippes as these are. For as touching the other ships of the fleete, which are in this harbour, it is not convenient to venture the silver in them. This counsell your Majestie shall not take of mee, for I am a souldier, and have but small skill in navigation. But every day it is tolde me openly and in secret by many of the pilots, captaines, masters and mariners.

Five Frigats made at Havana, John de Orimo General of the fleete.

The excellency of the great Frygates built in Cuba.

As touching the copper, I have put it in practise twise more, and have made proofe thereof: wherein there hath bene more spent, then I was willing there should have bene, because I have gotten no fruit thereof: I know not the cause, but that it is not done effectually by those that have the working thereof. Therefore I beseech your Majestie to send me that same founder which I wrote to

Copper mines newly found in Cuba.

your Majestie heretofore of. Our Lord keepe your Majestie many yeeres. From Havana the 20 of October, 1590.

Your Majesties servant, whose royall feete I kisse,
JOHN DE TREXEDA governour of Havana.

A letter sent to Don Petro de Xibar one of his Majesties privie Counsel of the West Indies, from Don Diego Mendez de Valdes Governour of S. Juan de Puerto Rico the 20 of November 1590, touching the state of that Citie and Island. [III. 559.]

I Received your honours letter the 20 of Februarie, whereby I received great content, to heare that your honour is in good health. As touching the imprisonment of our cousin Don Pedro de Valdes, it doeth grieve me to the very soule. I beseech God to send him his libertie: and likewise the imprisonment of Diego Flores de Valdes grieveth me very much: I pray God to send good justice. The M. of the fielde Juan de Texela, and the M. workeman Juan Baptista Antonio arrived here in safetie, and have viewed this Citie with all the circuite round about and the situation as I have informed his majestie thereof. They have marked a place to build a strong Fort, whereat the countrey remaineth very well contente. And it standeth in a good situation, and in a convenient place on a high mount which doeth lye upon the entering in of the Harbour, & so cutteth over to a point of land, leaving in the Fort as much space as wil containe 3000 persons, without joyning thereunto any part of the coast. So the M. del campo hath named the fort Citadella. He left me great store of yron worke, tooles eight workemen, and 200 Negros, which are the kings. And the Island doth finde 400 pioners which are continually at worke. His majestie hath sent me a

Pedro de Valdes, prisoner in England.

John Baptista Antonio the generall Ingenour of the West Indies.

A strong fort newly builded in S. Juan de puerto Rico.

warrant to spend the provision of the Island, & to take those rents which his majesty hath here, & to certifie his majestie what there is wanting for the maintaining of the workmen & that they may have all things necessary. So I have sent to Nueva Espanna, for such things as are here wanting. I have written to the M. of the field, which is gone to Havana, informing him that it doeth greatly import that the worke with all expedition should go forward, seeing that it is begun for the defence of the Island. And we doe defend it as well as we can from the enemie, in respect of the great danger which otherwise might happen, if the enemie should come and finde it begun, and not ended. And likewise that his majestie would send me that which I do request. And the most principal thing of al is, to send more Negros. And sending me all these things which be needful, I trust in God I shal in short time build up the fort, to defend us from the enemie. The fort must be builded triangle wise: for it will reach into the bay: and we shal be able to plant in the same 40 pieces of good ordinance, Canon, Demi-canon, and Colverine. The M. of the field, hath promised to send me some from Havana. For that he is determined to cast some there, by reason of the great store of copper, which now of late is found in Havana: for here we have as yet but small store of ordinance to defend us. I looke for 5 Canons which his majestie should send from Spaine, with shot and powder and al kinde of weapons, because that here is great want in the Island. His majestie hath sent the whole number of 200 souldiers, and in the companie there came two capitaines. The corps de Guard is kept in the market place: and twise in a moneth I muster all the men in the Iland, and finde very neere 1500 fighting men, and 80 horsemen. The forte when it is ended will be the strongest that his majestie hath in all the Indies. And now the people of the countrey sleepe in security. For commonly before, the Englishmen would come and beard us to the havens mouth. God keep your honour, and

This fort was taken by the Earle of Cumberland, 1598.

Copper mines found neere Havana.

200 souldiers sent to S. Juan de Puerto Rico.

1500 fighting men in S. Juan de puerto Rico Island.

The boldnes of the English.

send you long health. From Puerto Rico the 20 of November 1590.

The Governour DIEGO MENDEZ DE VALDES.

A letter to John Lopez Canavate, Alderman in the towne of Canavate in Spaine written from his servant Juan de Porva Canavates, from Havana the seventeenth of October 1590, touching the state of the said place.

THis is to give you to understand, that since my departure from S. Lucar I have written unto you twise of my arrivall here, and what successe I have had. And nowe you shall understand that I am determined to goe for Nueva Espanna. For I stay but opportunitie of time. For here is great watch dayly kept and great looking to the souldiers in keeping of them together, for running away. But neverthelesse I hope in God, to finde some friend to convey mee away from hence. This countrey is so close and narrow, that if a man steale not away hidden in some shippe, it is not possible for him to escape, nor to goe a league out of the towne, no way but by sea. And because the harbour is so close, it is the best harbour and the surest in the world. The harbour is made in this order. The entrie in towarde the land is by a narrow streight chanel, which continueth as long as a caliver shot, and from that place the river openeth broader and broader: There are in the entring in, two points which make with the lande, whereupon are newly builded two strong forts, which are fortified with very great store of ordinance: besides another strong and famous Forte which is in the Citie, so that it is impossible to take it. There are in these three Fortes, a thousand souldiers in Garison. And likewise here are two galies to keepe the coast. Yet for all this, the audacious Englishmen being without all shame are

The souldiers run away from Havana.

[III. 560.]

The boldnes of the English.

not afraid to come and dare us at our owne doores. Our journey to goe for England is most certaine in the yeere 1592. Here are making with great expedition 18 ships, which are called Frigats for that effect. They are very strong shippes, and will drawe but very litle water, whereby they may enter amongst the shoulds on the banckes of Flanders: they are builded the higher because here is great store of timber and excellent good and incorruptible. It is reported that the fleete will depart from hence in February, by reason that at that time the Englishmen are not departed out of their owne countrey. And thus I rest, from this Island of S. Christopher in Havana this present day on S. Lukes even; the 17 of October 1590.

18 ships builded in Cuba against England.

Your Worships servant,

John de Porva Canavates.

A letter from Mexico, of Sebastian Biscaino to his Father Antonio Biscaino in Corchio in Spaine, touching the great profit of the trade to China, and somewhat of M. Thomas Candish. Written the 20 of June 1590.

HAving written to your worship by a friend of mine at large, nowe I will bee somewhat short. And this is onely to give you to understand, that foure moneths past, I came from China, and landed in Acapulco, 70 leagues from Mexico, which is the harbour where the ships that goe downe to China lye: and all the marchants of Mexico bring all their Spanish commodities downe to this harbour, to ship them for that countrey. It is one of the best harbours in all Nueva Espanna; and where the ships may ride most safely without all kinde of danger. For it lyeth under a necke of land, and behind a great point. And in this harbour here are foure great ships of Mexico of 600 and 800 tunnes a piece, which

Acapulco the harbour where the ships lie that goe for China.

onely serve to cary our commodities to China, and so to returne backe againe. The order is thus. From hence to China is above two thousand leagues, farther than from hence to Spaine. And from hence their two first ships depart at one time to China: and are 13 or 14 moneths returning backe againe. And when those two ships are returned, then the other twaine two moneths after depart from hence. They goe nowe from hence very strong with souldiers. I can certifie you of one thing; That 200 ducates in Spanish commodities, and some Flemish wares which I caryed with me thither, I made worth 1400 ducates there in the countrey. So I make account that with those silkes, and other commodities which I brought with me from thence to Mexico, I got 2500 ducates by the voyage: and had gotten more, if one packe of fine silkes had not bene spoiled with salt water. So as I sayd, there is great gaine to be gotten if that a man returne in safetie. But the yeere 1588 I had great mischance, coming in a ship from China to Nueva Espanna: which being laden with rich commodities, was taken by an Englishman which robbed us and afterward burned our ship, wherein I lost a great deale of treasure and commodities.

From Acapulco, to China above 2000 leagues.

Flemish wares good in China. A wonderfull gaine.

M. Thomas Candish.

If I should write to you of the state of this countrey of China, and of the strange things which are there, and of the wealth of the countrey, I were not able to doe it, in an whole quier of paper. Onely I may certifie you, that it is the goodliest countrey, and the richest, and most plentifull in all the world. For here are great store of golde mynes, silver mynes, and pearle, great store of cotten cloth: for the countrey people weareth nothing else but fine cotten cloth, which is more accepted then silkes. For here is great store of silkes, & they are good cheape. All kinde of victuals, as bread, flesh, wines and hennes and all kindes of foules, are very plentifull. Here are great store of fresh rivers. The people are very loving. Here are very faire cities and townes with costly buildings, better then those in Spaine. And

Gold mynes, silver mynes, and Pearles, in China.

Fine linnen cloth greatly esteemed in China.

the countrey people go very richly apparelled both in silkes and gold. But here we have order from the king of Spaine, that a Spaniard may not dwell in China, above 3 yeres, and afterwards they must returne againe into Nueva Espanna, and other souldiers must come in their places. The countrey is very unwholesome for us Spaniardes. For within these 20 yeres of 14000, which have gone to the Philippinas, there are 13000 of them dead, and not past 1000 of them left alive. There is a place in China which is an harbour, called Macaran, which the king hath given to the Spaniards freely: which shall be the place where the ships shall come and trafficke. For in this harbour there is a great river which goeth up into the maine land, unto divers townes and cities, which are neere to this river. And thus troubling you no farther I rest. From Mexico the 20 of June 1590.

Not above one thousand Spaniards in the Philippinas.

Your obedient sonne, SEBASTIAN BISCAINO.

[III. 561.]

A Letter of Bartholomew Cano to Peter de Tapia in Sivill, from Mexico the 30 of May 1590, touching the state of Nueva Espanna, and the Fleet of that yeere.

BEcause I have answered your letters which I have received in the last Fleet, as touching that matter I have no more to say. The occasion of my writing unto you at this time, is to give you to understand, that those commodities which came in the last Fleet, were sold at the first good cheape, and those that bought them, got much by them. For now at this instant white Roan cloth is solde for 8 or 9 reals a vare. The cause of this was, by reason there came a caravel of Advise from Havana; which brought us newes, how the armie that his majestie did send for England, was all spoiled and cast away: and therefore they of Spaine did write that there would come no Fleet from Spaine hither this yeere: And this is the cause that

all linnen cloth is very deere in these parts. Wines also are very deere: for they are sold for 90 and 100 deminas a pipe. When the Frigats departed from hence in August last 1589. Cochinilla was sold at that instant for 50 pesos the quintall; and now it is sold for 55 pesoes. And since that newes came from Spaine in a caravel of S. Lucar, that it was solde there for 72 ducates the quintall, there are laden in this Fleet 14000 Arovas of Cochinilla, and 7000 Arovas more were laden in the Frigats which departed before the Fleet. There is laden in the Fleet great quantitie of treasure, more then hath bene sent to Spaine these many yeres, both for the Kings and the Vice-royes account. And the marchants and gentlemen of all these provinces doe send great quantitie to supply the Kings wants: for that his majestie hath written to the Vice-roy and to the gentlemen of these countreyes to ayde him with much money towardes the maintenance of his warres against France and other places, & therefore they have sent good store: God send it well to Spaine. There are likewise laden aboord the Fleet to the number of 100000. hides, and great store of other kindes of this countrey commodities. So that the Fleet goeth very richly laden. Quicke silver is here very deere, for here is almost none to bee had for any money to worke in the gold mynes: for without Quicke silver wee cannot refine our gold. And no man upon paine of death may bring any from Spaine hither; but all must come for the Kings account: and so the King doeth sell it here: there is exceeding great gaine therein. And thus I rest: From Mexico, the 30 of May 1590.

Bartholomew Cano.

[A letter

A letter of Frier Alonso new elected Bishop of Mechuacan, to the king of Spaine, written in Peru in the citie de los Reyes the first of March 1590, touching the state of Arica a chiefe Haven in Peru.

UPon Christmas even the yere 1589, I received your majesties commission in Potossi. For which I am and shall be continually bound to pray for your majesties long health, for the great benefits which your majestie hath bestowed upon me, in sending me to Mechuacan: whereby my great travell and paines may be recompenced, which I have taken with that ungrateful and desperate people of the river of Plate, which they have bene the occasion of, in dealing so badly with me their Pastour, which have counselled them, that they should have a great care to serve God, and be dutifull to your majestie, according as every good and true subject ought to do. Now for this gift which your majestie hath bestowed on me, I most humbly kisse your majesties handes a thousand times. Thus presently I departed from Potossi somewhat sickely, to accomplish that which your majestie hath commanded me. So I arrived at Lima in safetie the first of February by the way of Arica, which is an haven towne, where they imbarke all the barres of silver. And there I have seene what is done, & what they have provided against the Englishmen in that haven: which is; That there is a litle fort made hard by the waters side, with certaine small pieces of ordinance in the said fort to offend the enemie, if occasion should serve that they should offer to come into the harbour and offer any violence. But the principall thing of all that we want is to have souldiers, foote men, and horsemen. For according as I am informed, here want 100 men which should keepe the coast, if they should offer to land and march up into the

The people of the River of Plate.

100 men wanting.

countrey. And likewise the people of this countrey have told me, that if upon an high mount which is here in the harbour neere to the havens mouth, on the Southside of the harbour where the sea doth beat, ther were two or three great Canons planted on the top of the hill, (where very good watch is continually kept) from that place they may reach to doe the enemie great hurt, a league into the sea. The new Vice-roy Don Garcia Urtado de Mendoça, worthy of that dignitie, is in great favour with al those of these realmes: for that he is a great solliciter both by sea and land in all kinde of diligence, not loosing one houre in your service, and that which he hath in charge. With as much speed as may be I will depart from hence to Mechuacan, to serve that church and your majesty: and there I will remaine according to your majesties commandement, with the bulles or indulgences. Our Lord keepe your majesty many yeres in his holy service. From the city de los Reyes the first of March 1590.

Good watch continually kept.

[III. 562.]

Frier Alonso bishop of Mechuacan.

A letter of Don John de Miramontes Suasola to Don John Garcias de Penalosa from Arica on the coast of Peru the tenth of March 1590.

AFter my long travell and badde successe, my fortune brought mee to the Indies; where being void of all hope, and full of griefe, I am become a souldier: a thing in this countrey which is most hated of all other things, not onely of men, but of the wilde beasts: and is an occupation which is chosen of idle persons. The occasion of this is, that there have bene in these seas, and yet are certeine English rovers: and in seeking of them I have travelled these three yeres: the one of the yeres a souldier, and the other two yeeres I have gone for captaine and ensigne-bearer. And at this time here is arrived Don Garcias Urtado de Mendoça viceroy of these realmes: who hath

English men in the South sea sought 3 yeres.

chosen me to be chiefe ensigne-bearer of an army which departed from hence to scoure the coast. For here we have newes of the enemy, which is comming upon the coast: for wee have stayed for their comming these foure moneths the same way which they must come, in a haven called Arica, which is the first entry of Peru. So I have 90 pezos a moneth, besides other profits, at nine reals the pezo; & foure shares at nine reals the pezo. So that I have 1800 pezos every yere of pay: for the viceroy is my dere friend, and maketh great account of me. And I have alwayes 400 ducats in my chest to goe like a man. I beseech God send us quietnesse. But yet it is the part of a gentleman to serve the king his master in these actions. And thus I rest. From the harbour of Arica the tenth of March 1590.

This was M. Chidleys fleet, whereof the Delight was in the streights of Magelan in January and Feb. 1589.

I kisse your worships hands, and am at your commandement Don John de Miramontes Suasola.

There are foure great galeons of 350 tunnes a piece, which are in Arica men of warre, with a Generall, Admirall, Viceadmirall, with great store of souldiers which keepe this haven: for the viceroy hath intelligence that there are certeine Englishmen of war comming thither. This haven of Arica is the best harbour in all the South sea: for all the silver which commeth from the mines of Potossi, is shipt in this harbour, and so brought to Lima. And likewise all the commodities which come from Spaine, and all the kings quicksilver, is unladen in this harbour, and so caried to the city of Lima and other places, where the mines of silver are.

This was M. John Chidleys fleet.

A letter of the Licentiate Christopher Uslano to Gonsalvo de Solana in the city of Encisa in Spaine, written from the city of Potossi in Peru the 20. of July 1590, touching a great plague in Peru, and the shortnesse of the passage from the river of Plate into Potossi in Peru.

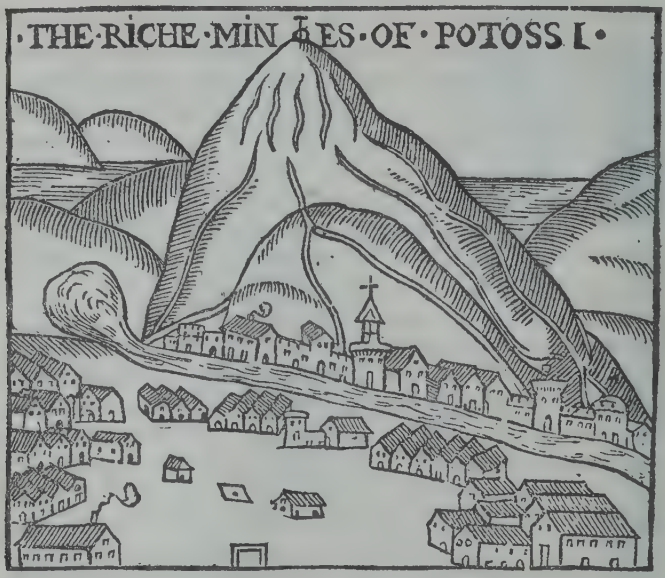
THe last yeere 1588 I received letters from your worship and from my sister: and since that time I have received none, nor in the fleet which came to Cartagena 1589. And this yere 1590 there hath bene great want of corne in this kingdome of Potossi: for that there hath beene no raine in this kingdome of long time. For in March the husbandmen use to sowe their corne: and in Aprill Winter doth begin. And if in April there be no raine, the corne which is sowen will consume away: and so for want of raine we have had two badde yeres of corne. And likewise here hath bene in these countreys of Potossi, and in the city De la paz, great sicknesse among the Indians, Mullatos, and Mestiços, called the small pocks, and a certeine plague, which hath destroyed all this countrey. And there have no olde people died, nor Spanyards, but onely this countrey people, from one yeere to 30 yeeres of age: so for want of Indians we can not worke in the mines. This sicknesse runneth al along the coast of Peru, and hath passed into the streights of Magalanes, whence we have newes that those souldiers which were sent from Spain thither to build those forts are most of them dead, & especially the workemen which came to make the forts. The Generall Don Diego de Abolos hath written to his majesty to send more souldiers and more workemen, whereby these three forts might be builded according to the kings commandement. This sicknesse came first from Carta-

Famine.

Plague.

gena to this countrey, which is 1000 leagues distant: and, as I sayd, it hath gone all Peru over, to the utter undoing of this countrey: I pray God to cease it. I pray you when you write any letters to mee, send them in those shippes which come to Sainct Thomé, and take in Negros. And there are great store of ships which goe to Sainct Thomé for Negros, and it is but

[III. 563.] *Peru utterly undone with the plague.*



15. dayes sailing over a gulfe to Brasill. And from Brasill their shippes bring their Negros to a haven called The haven of Buenos Aeres, which is within the entrance of the mightie river of Plate. And from this harbour all kinde of Spanish and Portugall commodities are caried to this citie of Potossi in carts and on horses: for it is but 10. or 12. dayes journey, and the countrey is very plaine for carts to travaile. And from Potossi to this harbour is great store of treasure brought to buy that countrey commodities, and so they are shipped for

A short passage from Buenos Aeres in the river of Plate to Peru.

Portugall: and the ships go and come againe in short time. If his majestie will consent that we may have traffique from Spaine to this harbour, it will be very profitable: and in five or sixe moneths I shall heare from you, & you shall doe the like from me. And by the way of Cartagena it is sometime 2. yeres before we can receive your letters from Spaine. By this way my brother may write, and so by this meane the letters may speedily come to my hand. And thus I rest. From this citie of Potossi the 20. of July 1590.

The tediousnesse of the way by Cartagena to Peru.

The Licenciate CHRISTOPHER USLANO.

A letter of Steven de Tresio to Alonso Martines Vaca in Sivil from Panama the 21. of August 1590. touching the kings desire to borrow money upon privie seales, and the want of the countrey.

IT may please your worship to understand, that I have received a packet of letters from you, wherein you write unto me of the great miseries and the calamities of Spaine. And I promise you that these countreys are in no lesse. For here is great want of corne and other kind of provision: for here is almost none to be had for any money, by reason that from Lima there is no shipping come with maiz. Here wee have had newes from Spaine of the great provision which is making ready for those great wars which his majestie is in preparing, & of the great sums of money that his majestie standeth in neede of: So that it doth put us all that are dwellers here in such a perplexitie and confusion, that we know not what we shall doe. I pray God his majestie take not away our money which wee have sent to Spaine in the fleete. For here are marchants that have sent some 200000. pezos, some 100000. pezos, some 60000. some more some lesse, to have it imployed in commodities of that

countrey. Although the king hath sent hither his scedule or bill of assignement signed and sealed by his majestie, which hath bene proclaimed here: The contents whereof are, That what man soever marchant or other will send their money into Spaine in that fleete, his majestie will not take away any part or portion thereof, (which in so doing will bee a great comfort unto us all) yet here we were in doubt that hee would take it from us all. Newes from the citie of Lima as yet we have none: But I can certifie your worshippe, that all things are very deere here, and that we stand in great extremitie for want of victuals; and likewise we have great want of money. Also here is order come from the king with certaine privie seales for to lend his majestie money, for that hee hath great neede thereof. This countrey at this instant is very poore, and there are none that can lend the king at this time any money at all, by reason that this lande is left so unprovided of money: But wee are looking for great store of money, which is to come from Lima and from the Valles.

Privie seales to borrow money sent into Peru.

Abundance of money to come from Lima and from The Valles.

From Panama the 12. of August 1590.

STEVEN DE TRESIO.

A letter of the Licentiate John de Labera to the Licentiate Alonso Sapata de Henao in Castile in Calamea de la Sorengo, written from S. Fee de Bogota in the new kingdom of Granada, the 10. of May 1590. touching the rich silver mines of Marequita newly found out, and the long way thither by the river of Magdalena.

WIth other letters which I dispatched from hence in August 1589. I wrote unto your worship by 2. or 3. wayes: but I know not whether you have received them or no. Presently after I departed to the government of Popayan, which joineth with the citie of Quito in the coast of Peru, in companie of the governors lieutenant Don Diego Ordonez de

Lara of Salamanca. But I was faine to forsake his companie, by reason I fell sicke in the citie of Marequita, where they have discovered the great silver mines: which citie is above 200. leagues from Cartagena: where I remained a certaine time very sicke. And because this countrey is extreme hotte, and I every day grew worse and worse, I was faine to travaile 30. leagues further up into the maine land to a citie called S. Fee in the new kingdom of Granada, being on the coast of Peru: which is a cold countrey: where I am admitted a procurator, for that the Royal audience is kept in this citie. So I finde my selfe very healthy of bodie, by reason this countrey is full of all kind of victuals, very good and very plentifull, as bread, cheese, bacon, beefe, great store of hennes, and great store of comfeitures. Onely here is want of golde: so that this countrey will be utterly undone, if the mines of Marequita help not to restore the same again: whereof there is good hope: for here is great store of metall already found, and the workmen are in hand to refine the said metal: so that we are in good hope that great store of silver will be found in these mines of great value and profite to his majestie. This river is called the great river of Magdalena. There is a fish in the river called Cayman, which followeth after the canoas: and if it can reach any man in the canoa, it will haile him out and devoure him. All night they lie in the sand on shore. In this river as we are going up, there is at certaine seasons great store of lightning and thunder, with such abundance of raine, as though the skies would fall downe: and so it doth continue from midnight until morning: so that we are faine to go aboord the canoas, & with certaine broad leaves which grow in the countrey, the mariners make a covering to cast over the wares which are laden in the canoas: and it doth keepe both the raine & sunne from us which are passengers. The canoas are drawen up this river of Magdalena by maine force of the mariners in rowing and haling them with [III. 564.]

The citie of Santa Fee in the new kingdom of Granada.

Great store of metal found in the newe mines of Marequita.

The great river of Magdalena.

ropes. There are 7. or 8. Indians commonly which guide these canoas, besides the Master which keepeth the helme, and the passengers. We are commonly two moneths in going up this river. It is 150. leagues to the landing place. And there the marchants unlade their marchandise, which serve for all the cities and townes which are in this newe kingdome of Granada. And the marchants lade the canoas backe againe from thence with great store of silver and golde which is gotten out of the mines for Cartagena, and there it is shipped for Spaine. And likewise here is great quantitie of treasure laden in the sayd canoas which is for the kings custome and other dueties which are paid: But they are but a moneth or three weekes going downe the river to Cartagena. These are the richest mines in all Peru. And thus I rest.

The richest mines in all Peru.

From Santa Fee de Bogota in the new kingdome of Granada in Peru the 10. of May 1590.

The Licentiate JOHN de LABERA.

A letter of Hieronymo de Nabares to the licenciat John Alonso dwelling in Valladolid, written from Panama to Sivil the 24. day of August 1590. touching the gainefulnes of the trade to the Philippinas, and the extreme feare they have of the Englishmen.

NOt long agone I wrote to your worship from Panama by the way of Havana: giving you to understand of my being here, & of the state of these countreys. After I departed from Spaine, in 37. dayes wee arrived at Cartagena: and from thence I tooke shipping to goe to Nombre de Dios, which is 80. leagues from Cartagena: and in 4. dayes wee got thither. And from thence I went to Panama: where I have remained these 20. dayes, till the shippes goe for the Philippinas.

My meaning is to carie my commodities thither: for it is constantly reported, that for every hundred ducats a man shall get 600. ducats cleerely. Wee must stay here in Panama from August till it be Christmasse. For in August, September, October and November it is winter here, and extreme foule weather upon this coast of Peru, and not navigable to goe to the Philippinas, nor to any place else in the South sea. So that at Christmasse the ships begin to set on their voyage for those places: and then in these parts the summer beginneth with very faire weather, and alwayes we shall have the windes with us. For in July until October here is terrible thundering and lightening with extreme raines, so that it is not possible to go any way in this countrey. Here are in Panama 10. great ships of 500, 400, 300, & 200. tuns apiece, & some 15. barkes which use commonly to saile in the South sea to Lima, to the Valles, to Arica, and to the Philippinas. This countrey in the summer is so extreme hotte, that it is not possible to travel in the day time: [III. 565.] it standeth in 8. deg. & ½. and all this coast is in 9. and 10. deg. Here is great store of adders, snakes and toades, which are in the houses, but they doe but small hurt. Here bread, wine, and bacon are very deere, by reason the countrey doth not yeeld it: for it is brought from Peru. A li. of bread is worth here 2. rials of plate: a quart of wine is solde for 4. rials: for none groweth here. Here are very few sheep, and those extreme deere. The only food here for flesh, are oxen, kine, buls & heffkers: you may buy 20. li. of beefe for one rial of plate. Their smallest money of silver is a rial of plate, & very few of them, but all pieces of 4. & 8. For the silver mines which dayly be found in Peru be wonderfull to bee spoken of. If a man did not see the silver made, hee would never beleeve it: for the very earth which commeth out of the mines, & is afterward washed, being but 3. or 4. yeres on a mount, yeeldeth great store of

The great profite of the trade to the Philippinas.

Twenty li. of beefe may bee bought for sixe pence in Peru.

silver afterwards againe. But as here we get much, so our charge in meat, drinke and apparell doth cost very much. As for fruite here is none that is good, but onely muske melons, and they are sold for 6. or 8. rials apeece. I can certifie your worship of no newes, but only, that all this countrey is in such extreme feare of the Englishmen our enemies, that the like was never seene or heard of: for in seeing a saile, presently here are alarmes in all the countrey. I pray you to write unto me as touching the wars that his Majestie hath with our enemies, and howe his Majestie doth prevaile. And thus I rest. From Panama in the firme land the 28. of Aug. 1590. HIERONYMO de NABARES.

The Englishmen extremely feared in Peru.

A relation of a memorable fight made the 13. of June 1591. against certaine Spanish ships & gallies in the West Indies, by 3. ships of the honorable sir George Carey knight, then marshall of her Majesties houshold, and captaine of the Ile of Wight, now lord Hunsdon, lord Chamberlaine, and captaine of the honourable band of her Majesties Pensioners.

THE 13. of June 1591. being sunday, at 5. of the clock in the morning we descried 6. saile of the king of Spaine his ships. Foure of them were armadas, (viz. the Admirall and viceadmirall of 700. tuns apeece, and the other 2. of 600. apeece) and the other 2. were smal ships, each of them about 100. tuns. We met w^t^ them off the Cape de Corrientes, which standeth on the Iland of Cuba. The sight of the foresaid ships made us joyfull, hoping that they should make our voyage. But assoone as they descryed us, they made false fires one to another & gathered their fleet together, lying all close by a wind to

the Southwards. We therefore at 6. of the clock in the morning (the wind being at East) having made our prayers to almighty God, prepared our selves for the fight: And (in hope they had bene of the Cartagena fleete) wee bare up with our admirall and viceadmiral, to determine of the combate for the better direction thereof. Our parle being ended, our admiral, viceadmiral, & the Hopewel gave their admiral the prow, bringing themselves to leeward of him. We in the Content bare up with their viceadmiral, and (ranging along by his broad side aweather of him) gave him a voley of muskets and our great ordinance: then comming up with another small ship ahead of the former, wee hailed her in such sort, that shee payd roome. Thus being in fight with the little ship, we saw a great smoke come from our admiral, and the Hopewel & Swallow forsaking him with all the sailes they could make: whereupon bearing up with our admiral (before we could come to him) we had both the small ships to windward of us, purposing (if we had not bene too hotte for them) to have layd us aboord. Thus (the fight continuing between us and them 3. houres) we were forced to stand to the Northwards, the Hopewel and the Swallow not comming in all this while to ayd us, as they might easily have done. Our admirall by this time being in fight with their viceadmiral, and another great ship of theirs, stood off to sea with his topgallant saile, and all the sailes he could make: then might the Hopewel & the Swallow have payd roome to second him, but they failed him as they did us, standing off close by a wind to the Eastward. All this time we were forced to the Northwards with 2. of their great ships and one of their small. They having a loom gale (wee being altogether becalmed) w^t^ both their great ships came up faire by us, shot at us, and on the sudden furled their spritsailes & mainsailes, thinking that wee could not escape them. Then falling to prayer, we shipped our oars that we might rowe to shore, & anker in shallow water where their great ships could not come

nie us, for other refuge we had none. Then 1. of their smal ships being manned from 1. of their great, & having a boat to rowe themselves in, shipped her oars likewise & rowed after us, thinking w^t^ their small shot to have put us from our oars, until ye great ships might come up with us: but by ye time she was within
[III. 566.] musket shot, the Lord of his mercie did send us a faire gale of wind at the Northwest off the shore. What time (they being all to leeward of us) wee stood to the East. The small ship was under our lee within Falcon shot, and another great shippe lay to the Westward, so that wee could no way possibly escape them upon that boord: then (we thinking to avoyd them by casting about to the Westwards) the other great shippe gate under our lee, and the small ship on our weather quarter, purposing to make us pay roome with the great ship, by force of her small & great shot. Then (we being lerboord tacked, and they sterboord) we made her spring her looffe, and by a fortunate shot which our gunner made, pierced her betwixt winde and water. Hereupon shee was forced to lay herselfe upon the carena, and to stand with one of the other ships for ayde. Afterward (commending our selves to almightie God in prayer, and giving him thankes for the winde which he had sent us for our deliverance) we looked forth and descryed two saile more to the offen: these we thought to have bene the Hopewell, and the Swallow that had stoode in to ayde us: but it prooved farre otherwise, for they were two of the kings gallies. Nowe having a loome gale of winde, wee shipped our oars, and rowed off the shore: and our watch was no sooner set, but wee espied one gallie under our lee hard by us, boging up with us. Then (because it was evening) one of the great ships discharged sixe great shot at us, to the ende the gallies should knowe that wee were the shippe they looked for. Then the gallie came up, and (hayling us of whence our shippe was) a Portugall which wee had with us, made them answere, that we were of

the fleete of Tierra firma, and of Sivil: with that they bid us amaine English dogs, and came upon our quarter star-boord: and giving us five cast pieces out of her prowe, they sought to lay us aboord: but wee so galled them with our muskets, that we put them from our quarter. Then they winding their gallie, came up into our sterne, and with the way that the gallie had, did so violently thrust in the boordes of our Captaines cabbin, that her nose came into it, minding to give us all their prowe, and so to sinke us. But wee being resolute, so plyed them with our small shot, that they could have no time to discharge their great ordinance: and when they began to approch, wee heaved into them a ball of fire, and by that meanes put them off: whereupon they once againe fell asterne of us, and gave us a prowe. Then having the second time put them off, wee went to prayer, and sang the first part of the 25. Psalme, praysing God for our safe deliverance. This being done, we might see 2. gallies and a frigat all three of them bending themselves together to encounter us: hereupon we (eftsoones commending our estate into the hands of God) armed our selves, and resolved (for the honour of God, her Majestie, and our countrey) to fight it out till the last man. Then shaking a pike of fire in defiance of the enemie, and weaving them amaine, we bad them come aboord: and an Englishman in the gallie made answer, that they would come aboord presently. So managing ourselves to our furniture, and every moment expecting the assault, wee heard them parle to this effect, that they determined to keepe us companie till the morning, and then to make an end with us: then giving us another shot from one of the gallies, they fell asterne. Thus our fight continued with the shippes and with the gallies, from seven of the clock in the morning till eleven at night. Howbeit God (which never faileth them that put their trust in him) sent us a gale of winde about two of the clocke in the morning at Eastnortheast, which was for the preventing of their crueltie, and the saving of our

A fight from 7. in the morning till 11. at night.

lives. Also (the Lord be praised for it) in all this dangerous fight, wee had not one man slaine, and but 2. hurt: but our sayles and ropes were so rent with their shot, that it was wonderfull to behold: our maine mast also was shot cleane through, whereby wee were in exceeding great danger. Thus our consortes forsooke us, and left us in these extremities. The next day being the 14. of June in the morning, wee sawe all our adversaries to lee-ward of us, and they espying us, chased us till 10. of the clocke, and then seeing they could not prevaile, gave us over. So that day about 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, we bare up to the Southwest, in hope to finde our consortes, but we had no sight of them at that time, nor afterward. Then stoode we in all that night for the Cape of S. Anthonie, hoping there to see our Admirall according to his direction. The 15. day of June early in the morning, we descryed the Spanish fleete againe, being within 5. leagues of Cape S. Anthonie. Then (having no sight of our consortes) wee stoode for the place according to the direction of our owner sir George Carey, where we did plie for the space of 23. dayes, and never could see any sayle but two frigats, which wee gave chase unto the 24. of June, and could not fet them up. Thus wee give God most humble thankes for our safe deliverance from the cruell enemie, which hath beene more mightie by the providence of God, then any tongue can expresse: to whom bee all prayse, honour, and glory, both now and ever, Amen.

Appendix.

THe barke called The Content had but one Minion, one Falcon, one Saker, & 2. port-bases. She continued fight (from seven in the morning til sunset) with
[III. 567.] 3. armadas of 600. and 700. tunnes apiece, and one small shippe of 100. tunnes, not being above musket shot from any of them. And before the sunne was set, there came up to her two of the kings gallies. Besides, the Armadas shot their great ordinance continually at her, not so few

as 500. times. And the sides, hull, and mastes of the Content were sowed thicke with musket bullets. Moreover, all their sheats, tops and shrowdes were almost cut insunder with their great & small shot. There passed from the galies (each whereof came thrise up to her, & discharged five great pieces at a time, out of every their prowes forthright, within three yards of her poope) through her maine saile 19. great shot, through her maine top-saile foure: through her fore-saile seven: through her fore-top-saile five: and through her maine maste one. The upper part of the Content was hurt in five places. Onely 13 men continued this fight, the rest being in hold.

A frigat of the Spaniards (being afterward taken) confessed, that there were in the gallies above 40. Spaniards slaine, and many were hurt in that combate.

The names of those 13 persons that continued the fight.

Nicolas Lisle, Captaine.	Charles Creame.
M. Major, Lieutenant.	Thomas Godfrey.
William King, Master.	Giles Thornton.
John Barwick, Mrs. mate.	John Pells.
William Clement, gunner.	John Bourel.
Thomas Houldships, Bote-swaine.	Ralph Grey.
	William Heore.

The names of the rest be these following.

John Pie.	John Towpenie.
John Smith.	Edmund Giggs.
John White.	William Bateman.
John Butcher.	William White.
John Brooke.	Laurence Shellie.

[A true

A true report of a voyage undertaken for the West Indies by M. Christopher Newport Generall of a fleete of three shippes and a pinnesse, viz. The golden Dragon Admirall, whereof was Captaine M. Newport himselfe; The Prudence Vice-admirall, under the conduct of Captaine Hugh Merrick; The Margaret under Captaine Robert Fred; and The Virgin our pinnesse under Captaine Henry Kidgil: Begun from London the 25. of Januarie 1591. Written by M. John Twitt of Harewich, Corporall in the Dragon. In which voyage they tooke and burnt upon the coast of Hispaniola, within the bay of Honduras, and other places, 3. townes, and 19. saile of shippes and frigats.

He 12. daye of Februarie An. 1591. we set saile from Dover roade, and having a prosperous winde, the 27. day of the same moneth wee fell with Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie, and on the 28. wee arrived at Santa Cruz roade, where having refreshed our selves some 3. or 4. dayes, we put off to sea againe, and about the 5. of March wee passed by the Ilands of the Canaries: and having a favourable wind, the 4. of April An. 1592. we fell with Dominica in the West Indies: where making stay a day or two, wee bartred with the Salvages for certaine commodities of theirs, viz. Tabacco, hennes, Potato rootes, &c.

Passing from thence to a watering place on the other side of the cliffe, wee tooke a Portugall ship of Lisbone of 300. tuns, which came from Guinie, and was bound for Cartagena, wherein were 300. Negros young and olde. Which ship we tooke along with us to S. Juan de Puerto

rico, where we landed the marchant and one Spaniard more within a league of the towne, and landing some 20. or 30. musketiers, some 20. horsemen made towards us; but wee retired to our boates without any service done.

The 9. we lay hovering all day before the towne, the castle making a shot or two at us.

The reason why wee set the Portugall marchant aland there was, for that he hoped to helpe us to some money for his Negros there, but he falsified his worde with us, so that passing along to the Westermost ende of the sayde Iland, about some 9. or 10. leagues from the towne wee landed the Negros, and sunke their ship.

The 11. of Aprill we passed from thence to Mona [III. 568.] some 15. leagues off, where we landed: there were on the Iland about 19. soules, the children of an olde Portugall, and his wife who affourded us such fruits as their Iland yeelded, viz. swines flesh, Potato rootes, &c.

From thence along wee passed to Saona, a long Iland and very fruitfull, replenished with store of wilde beastes and swine, where we landed, hunted, and trained our men.

Passing from hence Westward along the South coast of Hispaniola, wee descryed a frigat, which wee chased and tooke: wherein were 22. jarres of copper-money, being bound for S. Juan de Puerto rico, to buy wine there.

The next day we tooke 2. small frigats more, but nothing of any value in them.

The 15. of Aprill at night wee sacked a towne in the sayde Iland of Hispaniola called Ocoa, where was an Ingenio, wherein we found sugar & poultrie great store, but the people had discovered our ships over night, and were fled into the mountaines. This town standeth a league from the seaside, consisting of some fortie or fiftie houses. They brought us much cattell, and two wayne loades of sugar, to ransome the towne. While this action was perfourmed, Robert Freed of Harwich, captaine of the Margaret, tooke two frigats with certaine Spaniards on the other side of the bay, which came to lade sugar there at an Ingenio.

After we had here refreshed our selves, wee stode along for Cape Tiburon, where we watered: and making no stay there, about the 23. of Aprill wee left our shippes in a faire road-sted under an Iland not inhabited, and with our frigats which wee had taken before, wherein wee shipped all our strength which possibly wee could affourd, leaving onely so fewe aboord our shippes as could hardly if neede had bene, have wrought them; we passed along by the sayd Iland to the Northwest part of Hispaniola, to a towne called Yaguana; where the 27. in the morning 2. houres before day we landed; but wee were discovered by meanes of a frigat that lay laden with victuals, bound for Carthagena, the men of which frigat recovering on lande before us, gave an alarme to the towne, who were presently up in armes to the number of a hundred & fiftie horses. Wee marched notwithstanding along to the towne, having a Spaniard for our guide, where by that time the day brake, we were before the towne, where upon a faire greene making a stand, we were encountred by the horsemen having no strength of foote, but certaine few loose shot which lay in a low valley at the entrie of the towne. The horsemen charged us very fiercely, but seeing they could not prevaile, brought in a drove before them of two hundred beastes or more: and so forcibly thinking to have broken our array, it pleased God to cause their cattell to returne backe upon themselves: and thus their owne device sorted out to their owne detriment. In this skirmish wee slewe their governour, a man very hardy, and of great valure.

This towne standeth from the waters side a league.

In the end, by reason of the Spaniards brags which they gave out, (as by the life of their wives and children, &c. that not one of us should goe aboord againe) a greater doubt of intercepting of us and of our boates was stroken into our captaines hearts then needed: and so for that time we retired to our boates not entring the towne, and so passed with our boates to our ships againe; where the same night our captaine determined to goe up with our shippes, but it fell so calme, that all the next day untill

night we could not get up, and they having discovered us, baricadoed up their way, and conveyed all that they had into the mountaines, leaving their houses onely bare and naked, notwithstanding we landed, and with great difficultie wee passed their baricados with the losse of two men at both conflicts, entred their towne and fired it, leaving not an house unburnt, being a towne of three streetes having about 150. housholds.

The same night wee passed with our boates to a small village called Aguava, where we found excellent fruites of the countrey, which by reason of their cowardly brags wee also set on fire.

Being thus frustrated of our pretended voyage, we stoode for the bay of Honduras, and about the ninth of May we discovered in the afternoone a saile thwart of the bay of Truxillo, with whom we stoode, and having a Spanish flagge out, they mistrusted us not, untill we had almost fet them up: and then wee went off with our boate, and tooke them within shot of the castle, and with our boates wee went and fet three or foure frigats which rode afore the towne, the castle playing upon us with their ordinance.

They thought some fleete had bene come from Spaine, for so they expected.

Our captaine having understanding by the Spaniards, that there were three shippes more at Puerto de Cavallos, stood along that night for that place, but it fell out to bee so calme, that it was the fifteenth day of May or ever wee came there, the shippes having peradventure discovered us, stole alongst the shoare towards Truxillo, so that being voyde of that hope, we landed; the inhabitants forsaking the towne, fled into the mountaines. Wee [III. 569.] remained in the towne all night, and the next day till towards night: where we found 5. or 6. tuns of quick silver, 16. tuns of old sacke, sheepe, young kids, great store of poultrie, some store of money, & good linnen, silkes, cotton-cloth, and such like; we also tooke three belles out of their church, and destroyed their images. The towne is of 200 houses, and wealthy; and that yere there were foure rich ships laden from thence: but we

spared it, because wee found other contentment. And having taken our pleasure of the towne, as aforesayd, wee returned aboord our ships, standing backe againe for Truxillo, we discovered one of the shippes which was laden at Puerto de Cavallos: but they had espied us before, as it should seeme; for they had conveyed away as much as possibly they could ashore, and set their ship on fire; which so soone as we had discried, we made to her with our boats, and quenched the fire, and loaded up with hides the shippe which we tooke at our first comming; for she had but a thousand hides in her, and certeine jarres of balsamum: which being accomplished, wee sunke the shippe with the rest of the goods, and so stood alongst againe for Truxillo. It fell out to be so calme, that we were two and twenty dayes sailing backe that we had sailed in sixe dayes, which was about forty leagues: so that when we came before Truxillo, which was about the sixth of June, we found another of the ships there, but close under the castle, her ruther unhanged, her sailes taken from the yards, &c. notwithstanding we entered her, but they had placed such a company of musketiers under a rampire, which they had made with hides and such like, that it was too hote for us to abide, and so betaking us to our shippes againe, and standing out of the bay into the sea, wee discovered great store of shot intrenched in those places where they suspected we would have landed. That night there fell such a storme of raine, thunder, lightening and tempestuous weather, that our ships were dispersed either from other. And having determined all of us to meet at a certeine Island, where wee purposed to water and refresh our selves; by meanes of the storme and other contagious weather which followed, we were frustrated of that hope.

We had lost our prize, and certeine frigats with the men. Two of our shippes went to seeke our prize and our men: and other two of us came homeward. And so we parted, not hearing either of other untill we came into England.

Our place of meeting should have beene at the Tortugas neere unto the point of Florida, but the Golden dragon and the Prudence were put to leeward of this place: neverthelesse wee fell with certeine islands within the point of Florida, where the captaine of the Dragon M. Christopher Newport sent his pinnesse on shore with certeine shot to seeke for fresh water, where wee found none; but found the Savages very courteous unto us, who came brest high into the sea, and brought us a line to hall in our boat on shore, and shewed us that up into the land Northward was fresh water, and much golde. And one Michael Bagge of Ipswich boatswaines mate of the Dragon, had given him by one of the Savages for an olde rusty hatchet, a piece of golde wound hollow, and about the bignesse and value of an English angell, which the Savage ware hanging about his knee, with two pieces of fine silver plate, whereof one the sayd Savage gave John Locke, masters mate of the Dragon, being foureteene groats in value, for an olde knife: the other piece he gave to one William Wright a sailer, for an olde knife: which pieces of silver were in forme like unto the bosse of a bridle. These Savages were farre more civill than those of Dominica: for besides their courtesie, they covered their privities with a platted mat of greene straw, about three handfuls deepe, which came round about their waste, with the bush hanging downe behinde.

The next day in the morning very early, there came a frigat of the iland of Cuba of 30 tunnes, put in by weather, which was bound for Havana, wherein were fifty hogges; to which we gave chase all that day, passing the gulfe of Bahama, and about five of the clocke in the afternoone, after a shot or two made at her, shee yeelded unto us: wee hoisted out our boat, and went aboord, where we found some five Spanyards, five and fifty hogs, and about some two hundred weight of excellent tabacco rolled up in seynes. We lightened them of their hogges and tabacco, and sent the men away with their frigat.

In this voyage we tooke and sacked foure townes,

seventeene frigats, and two ships, whereof eight were taken in the bay of the Honduras; of all which we brought but two into England: the rest we sunke, burnt, and one of them we sent away with their men. And to make up the full number of twenty, the Spanyards themselves set one on fire in the bay of the Honduras, lest we should be masters of it.

We shaped our course from Florida homeward by the isle of Flores one of the Azores, where we watered, finding sir John Burgh there, who tooke us to be Spanyards, and made up unto us; with whom wee joyned in the taking the mighty Portugall caracke called Madre de Dios, and our captaine M. Christopher Newport with divers of us was placed in her as captaine by the Generall sir John Burgh to conduct her into England, where we arrived in Dartmouth the seventh of September 1592.

[III. 570.]

The voyage made to the bay of Mexico by M. William King Captaine, M. Moore, M. How, and M. Boreman Owners, with the Salomon of 200 tunnes, and the Jane Bonaventure of 40 tunnes of Sir Henry Palmer, from Ratcliffe the 26 of January 1592.

THe Salomon was manned with an hundred men, all mariners, and the Jane with sixe and twenty, all like wise mariners. Wee came first to the Downes in Kent, and never strooke saile in passing thence, untill we came to Cape S. Vincent on the coast of Portugall. From thence we shaped our course to Lancerota one of the Canarie islands, where we landed threescore men, and fetched a caravell out of an harborow on the South side, and from a small Island we tooke a demy-canon of brasse in despight of the inhabitants, which played upon us with their small shot at our first landing: of whom we slew three; and gave them the repulse. Thence we went to the Grand

Canaria, where wee boorded a barke lying at anker: out of which wee were driven by great store of shot from the Island. From thence wee directed our course for the West Indies, and fell with the isle of Dominica about the tenth of April. There at a watering place we tooke a shippe of an hundred tunnes come from Guiny, laden with two hundred and seventy Negros, which we caried with us to S. Juan de Puerto Rico, and there comming thorow El passaje, we gave chase to a frigat which went in to S. Juan de Puerto Rico, and in the night we sent in our shallope with foureteene men. And out of the harborow we tooke away an English shippe of seventy tunnes, laden with threescore tunnes of Canary-wines, in despight of the castle and two new bulwarks, being within caliver shot. These two prizes we caried away to the Westermost part of the island, and put the Negros, except fifteene, all on land in a Spanish caravell which the Jane Bonaventure tooke: and we caried away one of the former prizes, and set fire on the other. We passed thence by the isle of Mona, where we watered, and refreshed our selves with potatos and plantans, and so came to the isle of Saona: and from thence arrived at the mouth of the river of Santo Domingo. And as we sailed to Cape Tiburon, three leagues to the Westward of Santo Domingo we tooke a boat of fifteene tunnes, which had certeine jarres of malosses or unrefined sugar, with three men; which men with their boat wee caried with us to Cape Tiburon, which, in respect of service done unto us in furnishing us with fresh water, we dismissed. Thus contrary to other Englishmens courses we shaped ours to the Southward of Jamaica, and our shallop with 12 men ranged the coast but found nothing. Thence we ranged the three islands of the Caimanes, and landed at Grand Caiman, being the Westermost, where we found no people, but a good river of fresh water; and there we turned up threescore great tortoises; and of them we tooke our choise, to wit, fifteene of the females, which are the best and fullest of egges, whereof two served an

Jamaica.

A good river of fresh water in Grand Caiman.

hundred men a day. And there with stones we might kill turtle doves, wilde geese, & other good fowles at our pleasures. Thence we came to Cape de Corrientes on Cuba to water, and from thence to Cape S. Antonio, and so went over for the Tortugas, without taking of any new prize: and thence cut over to Rio de puercos on the coast of Cuba. There we tooke a small barke of twenty tunnes, with foure men and forty live hogs, with certeine dried porke cut like leather jerkins along, and dried hogs tongues and neats tongues, and 20 oxe hides. Then passing thence, within foure dayes we tooke a ship of 80 tunnes laden with hides, indico, & salsa perilla, North of an headland called Corugna: thence the current set us to the East to the old chanel. There we tooke a frigat of 20 tunnes, having certeine pieces of Spanish broad cloth & other small pillage: there continuing off the Matanças 12 dayes, with the winde so Westerly that we could hardly recover Havana in the moneth of May. Here we tooke two boats laden with tortoises, which we sunke, saving some of the tortoises, & setting the men on shore. Then at length we recovered up to Havana, where we came so neere to the forts, that for one houres fight they over-reached us with their long ordinance. Then came out the two gallies, having 27 banks on a side, and fought with us another houre; which for that time left us by reason of the increasing of the winde. Then passing alongst nine leagues to the Westward we found out an excellent harbour, having three fadome water at the flood, able within to receive a thousand saile, where we found hog-houses, which they terme coralles, and tooke away certeine hogs and pigs. As we came out of this harbour, the weather being calme, we were incountered by the gallies, which had followed us, and fought with them three houres, oftentimes within caliver shot: but wee made such spoile of their men and oares, that they beganne to be weary, and gave us over, with their great losse. Here within foure dayes after, as we lay to the Northward sixe leagues off this harbour of Cavannas, we met with

Preserving of hogs-flesh.

The excellent haven of Cavannas.

master captaine Lane, Generall of master Wats his fleet, and captaine Roberts, in the Exchange, a ship of Bristol, [III. 571.] of an hundred and forty tunnes, and master Benjamin Wood with his foure ships which were set out by my lord Thomas Howard with captain Kenel of Limehouse captaine of the Cantar of Weymouth. All we being heere together espied a ship of some 50 tunne, which we chased with their boats; but my shallope first boorded her, and tooke her: which had in her sacke, Canary-wine, muscadell, tent in jarres, and good store of oile in jarres. The ship we unladed and burned: the men ran on shore. Hence wee came all together, being about 13 sailes, before Havana; but passing by we gave chase to a ship of 60 tun, which entred into an harbour a league to the North-west of Havana, which with boats was boorded, and found to be of Puerto de Cavallos in the bay of Honduras, laden with tanned hides, salsa perilla, Indico, raw hides, and good store of balsamum: and she had foure chests of gold, which they got on land before we could come to them. We brought this ship into England. Thus spending a sevennight in lying off and on for purchase, and finding nothing come, I set saile for England, and arrived at Dover about the tenth of November 1592.

[A briefe

A briefe note of a voyage to the East Indies, begun the 10 of April 1591, wherein were three tall ships, the Penelope of Captaine Raimond, Admirall, the Merchant royall, whereof was Captaine, Samuel Foxcroft, Vice-admirall, the Edward Bonaventure, whereof was Captaine, M. James Lancaster, Rere-admirall, with a small pinnesse. Written by Henry May, who in his returne homeward by the West Indies, suffred shipwracke upon the isle of Bermuda, wherof here is annexed a large description.

THe tenth of April 1591 we departed from Plymmouth with the ships aforesayd. In May following wee arrived at Grand Canaria one of the fortunate Islands. Also toward the end of this moneth we tooke a Portugall shippe being bound for Brasil, within three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, which served greatly to our refreshing. The 29 of July following we came to Aguada Saldania a good harbour neere the cape of Buona Speranza, where we stayed about a moneth with the Merchant royall, which by reason of sicknesse in our fleet was sent home for England with divers weake men. Here we bought an oxe for a knife of three pence, a sheepe for a broken knife or any other odde trifle, of the people which were Negros, clad in cloaks or mantles of raw hides, both men and women. The 8 of September the Penelope & the Edward Bonaventure weyed anker, and that day we doubled the cape of Buona Speranza. The 12 following we were taken with an extreame tempest or huricano. This evening we saw a great sea breake over our admirall the Penelope, and their light strooke out: and after that we never saw them

A Portugall ship taken.

They double the cape of Buena Esperanza.

any more. In October following we in the Edward fell with the Westermost part of the isle of S. Laurence about midnight, knowing not where we were. Also the next day we came to an anker at Quitangone a place on the main land of Africa, which is two or three leagues to the Northward of Mozambique, where the Portugals of the isle of Mozambique fetch all their fresh water. Here we tooke a pangaia, with a Portugall boy in it; which is a vessell like a barge, with one mat-saile of Coco nut leaves. The barge is sowed together with the rindes of trees, and pinned with woodden pinnes. In this pangaia we had certeine corne called millio, hennes, and some fardels of blew Calicut cloth. The Portugall boy we tooke with us, and dismissed the rest. From this place we went for an island called Comoro, upon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the South of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all November, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace our master, and two of his mates; the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they having first betrayed our boat. From hence we went for the isle of Zanzibar, on the coast of Melinde, whereas wee stayed and Wintered untill the beginning of February following.

Quitangone nere Mozambique.

The isle of Comoro.

They Winter at the isle of Zanzibar.

The second of February 1592 wee weyed anker, and set saile directly for the East Indies; but having calmes and contrary windes, wee were untill the moneth of June before wee could recover the coast of India neere Calicut; whereby many of our men died for want of refreshing. In this moneth of June we came to an anker at the isles of Pulo pinaom, whereas we stayed untill the first day of September, our men being very sicke, and dying apace. This day we set saile, and directed our course for Malaca: and wee had not bene farre at sea, but wee tooke a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourescore

The isles of Pulo pinaom.

tunnes with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eighteene tunnes at her stearne, [III. 572.] both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from us in a gust in the morning. Here we might have taken two shippes more of Pegu laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seven hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, Calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce.

The isle of Nicubar.

In the moneth of November 1592 we shaped our course for the island of Nicubar lying certeine leagues to the Northwest of the famous island of Sumatra; whereas within short time wee came to anker: and here wee had very good refreshing: for after wee arrived there, the people (whom we found in religion Mahumetans) came aboord us in their canoas, with hennes, cocos, plantans, and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought unto us reals of plate, giving us them for Calicut cloth: which reals they found by diving in the sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China, & were cast away there. This was the furthest place that we were at to the Southeast: and heere because our company by this time was much wasted and diminished, we resolved to turne backe to the isle of Zeilan.

They returne homeward.

Wherfore we weyed anker in the moneth of November, and arrived at Zeilan about the end of the same moneth. In this island groweth great store of excellent cinamom, and the best diamonds in the world. Here our captaine meant to stay to make up our voyage: whereof hee conceived great hope, by certeine intelligence which wee had received; but the company, which were in all but 33 men and boyes, being in a mutiny, and every day ready to go together by the eares (the captaine being sicke

and like for to die) would not stay, but would needs go home.

The 8 of December 1592 we set saile homeward, but some 15 dayes before we had sight of the cape of Good hope, we were forced to share our bread, by reason we had certeine flies in our ship, which devoured most part of our bread before we were aware: so that when we came to sharing, we had but 31 pound of bread a man to cary us into England, with a small quantity of rice a day.

They double the cape of Bona Speranza.

The last of March 1593 we doubled the cape of Bona Speranza.

The isle of S. Helena.

In April next ensuing we came to anker at the island of S. Helena, whereas we found an English man a tailer, which had bene there 14 moneths before we came thither: so we sending our boat on shore with some ten men, they found this English man in the chapell; who by reason of the heat of the climat was inforced to keepe himselfe out of the Sun. Our company hearing one sing in the chapell, supposing it had bene some Portugall, thrust open the doore, and went in unto him: but the poore man seeing so many come in upon him on the sudden, and thinking them to be Portugals, was first in such a feare, not having seene any man in 14 moneths before, and afterwards knowing them to be Englishmen, and some of them of his acquaintance, in such joy, that what betweene excessive sudden feare & joy, he became distracted of his wits, to our great sorowes. Here we found of his drying some 40 goats. The party had made him for want of apparell two sutes of goats skinnes with the hairy side outwards, like unto the Savages of Canada. Here we stayed all this moneth. This man lived untill we came to the West Indies, and then he died.

The strange force of sudden feare and sudden joy.

The isle of Trinidad in the West Indies.

In the moneth of June 1593 we arrived at the island of Trinidad in the West Indies, hoping there to finde refreshing: but we could not get any, by reason that the Spanyards had taken it. Here we were imbayed betweene the island and the maine; and for want of victuals the company would have forsaken the ship:

whereupon the captaine was inforced to sweare every man not to forsake the ship untill we should see further occasion. Out of this bay, called Boca de Dragone, it pleased God to deliver us; from whence we directed our course for the isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico, but fell with the small isle of Mona, where we abode some fifteene dayes, finding in that place some small refreshing. And heere arrived a ship of Caen in Normandy, whereof was captaine one Monsieur Charles de la Barbotiere, who greatly refreshed us with bread and other provision, which we greatly wanted. And so we tooke our leaves the one of the other.

The isle of Mona.

In July having foule weather at Mona, we were forced to wey anker, and to set saile, directing our course for Cape Tiburon: and in doubling of the cape we had a gust from the shore, which caried away all our sailes from the yards: so that we had left but one new forecourse to helpe our selves withall: which canvas the aforesayd Frenchman did helpe us withall. Also having doubled the foresayd cape in the distresse aforenamed, the forsayd capitan de la Barbotiere with his pinnesse gave chase unto us againe; who being come nere unto us, I went aboord him, certifying him what distresse we were in. The gentleman replied to me againe, that there was not any thing in his shippe, but what he could spare he would helpe us withall. So to conclude, we agreed with him for canvas. Moreover, he sayd that if we would go with him to an harbour called *Gonnavy, which is to the Northward of Cape Tiburon, that then he would helpe us with fresh victuals enough. Whereupon I returned aboord our ship, and certified our captaine of all: who made it knowen unto the company; which no sooner heard of it, but they would all go in. So here we staied with the aforesaid Frenchman 15 dayes: but small refreshing we could get, because the Spaniards stood in some feare of the Frenchman of war, supposing our ship to be a Portugal, and that we were his prize: nevertheless hee certified them to the contrary. And in staying

Cape Tiburon.

Or Guanaba.

[III. 573.]

so long with him, and having little refreshing, our company began to be in a mutiny, and made report that the captaine & I went aboord the Frenchman but to make good cheere, and had not any care of them: but I protest before God, that our care was to get victuals wherby we might have bene gone from him. But in the meane time a great part of our company had conspired to take away the Frenchmans pinnesse, and with her to boord the man of warre. While these things were in complotting, one of their consorts went aboord the Frenchman, and certified him of all the conspiracy. Whereupon the captaine of the French ship sent for our captaine and me to come aboord to dinner: and we stayed with him all the afternoone, being invited unto supper: and being at supper, he himselfe would not a great while come to us: but at length hee came. At his comming wee asked of him what newes. Who answered us, that either we must depart from him, or els he must goe seeke some other harborow. Whereupon I tolde captaine Lancaster; who prayed me to tell him that rather then we would be any hindrance unto him, we would be gone. But in the mean time, while we were thus talking together, thè Frenchman weyed & set saile: which we perceived, and asked him what he meant by it. He replied to the captaine & me, that he kept us for his security, and that our men had purposed as is aforesayd. When he came thwart our shippe, it blew a prety gaile of winde: the boat being asterne of them, having in her two Moores & two men of Pegu, which we had given them, brake away. Then was the Frenchman worse then before, & did threaten us very sore that we should pay his voyage. In the meane time the Edward seeing us past, weyed and set saile to go for England: and they did share among them all the captaines victuals & mine, when they saw the Frenchman keepe us as prisoners. So the next morning we went to seeke out the Frenchmans pinnesse: which being at Laguna we shot off a piece, & so she came to us, having in her three more of

our company, Edmund Barker our lieutenant, and one John West, and Richard Lucland one of the mutinous crew. The which I told the Frenchman of; & he could not deny, but that there was such a thing pretended. Then I was put into the French pinnesse to seeke their boat: and in the meane time they would go to see if they could overtake our shippe. And the next day we should meet againe at Cape S. Nicolas: so the next morning we met together all three of us, but heard no newes of his boat. So he having Spanyards and Negros aboord of us, requested to have them. Our captaine desired him to send his boat aboord our shippe, and he should have them with all his heart. So with much adoe he sent his boat and had them. Then he demanded of them, if his boat were not aboord the ship. They answered no. So that then Monsieur de la Barbotiere was satisfied: and then we were great friends againe, to all our joyes.

The 12 of August 1593 our captaine was sent aboord our ship: but before his departure he requested the captaine of the French ship that he would give mee passage home with him, to certifie the owners what had passed in all the voyage, as also of the unrulinesse of the company. And this day we tooke our leaves the one of the other; the Edward for England: and we bare in for Gonnavy, where afterwards we found the Frenchmans boat.

They wracked upon Bermuda the 17 of December 1593.

The last of November 1593 Monsieur de la Barbotiere departed from a port called Laguna in Hispaniola. The 17 of December next insuing it was his fortune to have his ship cast away upon the Northwest part of the isle of Bermuda about midnight; the pilots making themselves at noone to be to the Southward of the island twelve leagues, certified the captaine that they were out of all danger. So they demanded of him their wine of heigth: the which they had. And being, as it should seeme, after they had their wine, carelesse of their charge which they tooke in hand, being as it were drunken, through

their negligence a number of good men were cast away: and I being but a stranger among 50 and odde Frenchmen & others, it pleased God to appoint me to be one of them that were saved, I hope to his service & glory. We made account at the first that we were cast away hard by the shore, being hie clifs, but we found our selves seven leagues off: but with our boat and a raft which we had made & towed at our boats sterne, we were saved some 26 of us; among whom were no more English but my selfe. Now being among so many strangers, & seeing not roome for the one halfe, I durst neither presse into the boat, nor upon the raft, for feare lest they should have cast me over boord, or els have killed me: so I stayed in the ship which was almost full of water, untill the captaine being entred the boat, called me unto him being at hand, for that it stood upon life or death: and so I presently entred, leaving the better halfe of our company to the mercy of the sea. After this we rowed all the day [III. 574.] until an houre or two before night yer we could come on land, towing the raft with the boat. When we came on shore, being all the day without drinke, every man tooke his way to see if he could finde any: but it was long before any was found. At length one of the pilots digging among a company of weeds found fresh water to all our great comforts, being only raine water: and this was all the fresh water that we found on shore. But there are in this Island many fine bayes, wherin if a man did dig, I thinke there might be found store of fresh water. This Island is divided all into broken Islands: and the greatest part I was upon, which might be some 4 or 5 miles long, and two miles & a halfe over; being all woods, as Cedar & other timber, but Cedar is the chiefest. Now it pleased God before our ship did split, that we saved our carpenters tooles, or els I thinke we had bene there to this day: and having recovered the aforesaid tooles, we went roundly about the cutting downe of trees, & in the end built a small barke of some 18 tun, for the most part with tronnels and

The description of the isle of Bermuda.

The saving of the carpenters tooles was their preservation.

A bark strangely built & furnished.

very few nailes. As for tackling we made a voyage aboord the ship before she split, and cut downe her shrowds, and so we tackled our barke, and rigged her. In stead of pitch we made lime, and mixed it with the oile of tortoises; and assoone as the carpenters had calked, I and another, with ech of us a small sticke in our hands, did plaister the morter into the seames, and being in April, when it was warm and faire weather, we could no sooner lay it on, but it was dry, and as hard as a stone. In this moneth of April 1594, the weather being very hot, we were afrayd our water should faile us; and therfore made the more haste away: and at our departure we were constrained to make two great chests, and calked them, and stowed them on ech side of our maine mast, and so put in our provision of raine-water, and 13 live tortoises for our food, for our voyage which we intended to Newfoundland. In the South part of this Island of Bermuda there are hogs, but they are so leane that you can not eat them, by reason the Island is so barren: but it yeeldeth great store of fowle, fish and tortoises. And to the Eastward of the Island are very good harbours, so that a shippe of 200 tun may ride there land-locked, without any danger, with water enough. Also in this Island is as good fishing for pearles as is any in the West Indies, but that the place is subject to foule weather, as thundering, lightning and raine: but in April and part of May we had very faire and hot weather. The 11 of May it pleased God to set us cleere of the Island, to the no little joy of us all, after we had lived in the same almost the space of 5 moneths. And the 20 of May we fell with the land nere to Cape Briton, where we ran into a fresh water river, whereof there be many, and tooke in wood, water, and ballast. And here the people of the countrey came unto us, being clothed all in furs, with the furred side unto their skins, & brought with them furres of sundry sorts to sell, besides great store of wild ducks: so some of our company having saved some small beads, bought

Hogs in Bermuda.

Good harbors in ye East part of Bermuda. An excellent fishing for pearles in Bermuda.

The people nere Cape Briton use traffike of rich furres.

some of their ducks. Here we stayed not above foure houres, and so departed. This should seeme to be a very good countrey. And we saw very fine champion ground, and woods. From this place we ranne for the banke of Newfoundland, whereas we met with divers, but none would take in a man of us, untill it pleased God that wee met with a barke of Falmouth, which received us all for a little time; and with her we tooke a French ship, wherein I left capitan de la Barbotier my deere friend, and all his company, and stayed my selfe aboord the English barke: and having passage in the same, in the moneth of August I arrived at Falmouth 1594.

A voyage of the honourable Gentleman M. Robert Duddeley, now knight, to the isle of Trinidad, and the coast of Paria: with his returne home by the Isles of Granata, Santa Cruz, Sant Juan de puerto rico, Mona, Zacheo, the shoalds called Abreojos, and the isle of Bermuda. In which voyage he and his company tooke and sunke nine Spanish ships, wherof one was an armada of 600 tunnes. Written at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt.

HAving ever since I could conceive of any thing bene delighted with the discoveries of navigation, I fostered in my selfe that disposition till I was of more yeres and better ability to undertake such a matter. To this purpose I called to me the advise of sufficient seamen, and principally undertooke a voyage for the South seas; but by reason that many before had miscaried in the same enterprise, I could not be suffered to hazard more of her Majesties subjects upon so uncerteine a ground as my desire: which made me by constraint (great charges already by me defrayed) to prepare another

course for the West Indies, without hope there to doe any thing woorth note: and so common is it indeed to many, as it is not woorth the registring. Nevertheless, I have yeelded to your former importunity, and sent you this my journall to supply a vacant roome amongst your more important discourses.

[III. 575.] Nowe being provided for this last enterprize, rather to see some practise and experience, then any wonders or profite, I weighed ancker from Southampton road the sixth of November 1594. But the winde falling scant, it was the 17. day of the same moneth before I could put into the Sea. Upon this day my selfe in the Beare a shippe of 200. tunnes my Admirall, and Captaine Munck in the Beares whelpe vice-admirall, with two small pinnesses called the Frisking and the Earewig passed through the Needles, and within two dayes after bare in with Plimmouth. My busines at this port-towne dispatched, I set saile; whither againe by contrary winds to my great misfortune, I was inforced to returne backe. I might call it misfortune; for by this meanes I utterly (for all the voyage) lost my vice-admirall; which was the cause likewise of loosing mine owne pinnesse, which three were the principall stay of my voyage. For at this last leaving of England in a storme I lost mine owne pinnesse, as is before said. Notwithstanding all these crosses all alone I went wandering on my voyage, sailing along the coast of Spaine within view of Cape Finister, and Cape S. Vincent, the North & South capes of Spaine. In which space having many chases, I could meet with none but my countreymen or countreys friends. Leaving these Spanish shores I directed my course the 14. of December towards the isles of the Canaries. Here I lingered 12 dayes for two reasons: The one, in hope to meete my vice-admiral: The other, to get some vessel to remove my pestered men into, who being 140. almost in a ship of 200. tunnes, there grew many sicke. The first hope was frustrated, because my vice-admiral was returned into

England with two prizes. The second expectation fell out to our great comfort: for I tooke two very fine Caravels under the calmes of Tenerif and Palma, which both refreshed and amended my company, and made me a Fleete of 3. sailes. In the one Caravel called The Intent, I made Benjamin Wood Captaine, in the other, one Captaine Wentworth. Thus cheared as a desolate traveller with the company of my small and newe erected Fleete, I continued my purpose for the West Indies, and first for Cape Blanco in Africa upon the deserts of Libya. My last hope was to meete my lost ship, and withall to renue my victuals upon the Canthers, which are Portugal fishermen: but the Canthers had bene so frighted by Frenchmen, as I could get none. Riding under this White Cape two daies, and walking on shore to view the countrey, I found it a waste, desolate, barren, and sandie place, the sand running in drifts like snow and being very stony; for so is all the countrey sand upon stone (like Arabia deserta, and Petrea) and full of blacke venemous lizards, with some wilde beasts and people which be tawny Moores, so wilde, as they would but call to my Caravels from the shore, who road very neere it. But not desirous to make any longer aboad in this place, by reason of the most infectious serenas or dewes that fall all along these coasts of Africa, I caused my Master Abraham Kendall to shape his course directly for the isle of Trinidad in the West Indies; which after 22. dayes we descried, and the first of February came to an anker under a point thereof called Curiapan, in a bay which was very full of pelicans, and I called it Pelicans bay. About 3. leagues to the Eastwards of this place we found a mine of Marcazites which glister like golde (but all is not gold that glistereth) for so we found the same nothing worth, though the Indians did assure us it was Calvori, which signifieth gold with them. These Indians are a fine shaped and a gentle people, al naked & painted red, their com-

This M. Benjamin Wood was in the end of the yeere 1596. sent forth with two ships, and certaine pinnesses upon a voyage for the South seas and for China, at the charges of this honourable gentleman Sir Robert Dudley.

A description of Cape Blanco in Africa.

The ysle of Trinidad descried. Punta de Curiapan.

manders wearing crownes of feathers. These people did often resort unto my ship, & brought us hennes, hogs, plantans, potatoes, pinos, tobacco, & many other pretie commodities, which they exchanged with us for hatchets, knives, hookes, belles, and glasse buttons. From this bay I fell downe lower to a place called Paracoa, where I desired rather to ride, because it was a convenient place to water, balast, ground, & grave my Caravels. Then I commanded al my men to lye on shore, after I had caused to be made for them a little skonce like an halfe moone for their defence, being jealous of the Spaniards, of whose estate I could gather no certaintie, till from Margarita Antonie Berreo for his defence had gotten some 300. souldiers, a greater number then I was able to encounter withall, having then but 50. men, because my Caravels before their comming were sent away. The Simerones of the yland traded with me stil in like sort. And the Spaniards now provided for me, began to send messengers to me in kindnesse. Notwithstanding though I had no reason to assault them, because they were both poore & strong, yet for my experience and pleasure I marched 4. long marches upon the yland, & the last from one side of the yland to the other, which was some 50. miles: going and comming through a most monstrous thicke wood (for so is most part of the yland) & lodging my selfe in Indian townes. The country is fertile, and ful of fruits, strange beasts, and foules, whereof munkeis, babions & parats were in great abundance. Being much delighted with this yland, and meaning to stay here some time about discovering the maine right against the same (the entrance into the empire of Guiana) being shewed the discovery thereof by Captaine Popham, who received the discovery of the saide empire from one captaine Harper, which being a prisoner learned of the Spaniards at the Canaries in the selfe same maner almost, as sir Walter Ralegh very discreetly hath written. The intelligence of Harper, I conceive, the Captaine hath yet to shew

Paracoa, or Parico.

They inskonce themselves.

A treasonable practize of the Spaniards.

They march from one side of the yland to the other.

Captaine Harpers intelligence of Guiana.

[III. 576.]

in Spanish. This discovery of Guiana I greatly desired: yet least I should adventure all occasions upon it onely, I sent my two Caravels from me the 17. day of February, to try their fortunes in the Indies not appointing any other place to meet but England, furnishing them with all the provision that I could spare, and dividing my victuals equally with them, knowing they were able to do more good in the Indies then greater ships. The Caravels being gone, I began to enquire privately of the Savages concerning the maine over against us, and learned that the names of the kingdomes joyning to the Sea-coast were in order these. The kingdom of Morucca, the kingdome of Seawano, the kingdome of Waliame, the kingdom of Caribes, the kingdome of Yguirie, and right against the Northermost part of Trinidad, the maine was called The high land of Paria, the rest a very lowe land. Morucco I learned to bee full of a greene stone called Tacarao, which is good for the stone. In Seawano I heard of a Mine of gold to be in a towne called Wackerew, the Captaines name Semaracon. Of Waliame I will speake last, because therein I made most discovery. The Caribes I learned to be man-eaters or Canibals, and great enemies to the Islanders of Trinidad. The kingdome of Yguiri I heard to be full of a metall called by the Indians Arara, which is either copper (as I could learne) or very base gold. In the high land of Paria I was informed by divers of these Indians, that there was some Perota, which with them is silver, and great store of most excellent Canetabacco. But lastly to come to Waliame, it is the first kingdome of the empire of Guiana. The great wealth which I understood to be therein, and the assurance that I had by an Indian, mine interpreter, of a golden Mine in a towne of this kingdome called Orocoa, in the River (as he called it) of Owrinoicke was much to be esteemed. This Indian spake Spanish, and whatsoever he knew, he reveiled it to my selfe onely by a private interpreter, not in words alone, but offered upon paine of life to be guide

His two Caravels sent to range the Indias.

Seawano called perhaps in sir Walter Raleghs discovery Ciawani.

Sir Walter Raleigh speaketh of Saima, and Wikeri in his discovery.

This Indians name was Balthasar, who afterward gave our men the slip at their greatest need.

himselfe to any place that he spake of. This discovery of the Mine I mentioned to my company, who altogether mutined against my going, because they something feared the villany of Abraham Kendal, who would by no meanes go. I then wanted my lost pinnesse, and was constrained to send 14. men in my ship-boat for this discovery, with most of the discreetest men in my ship, & gave them their directions to follow, written under mine owne hand. They went from me, and entred into one of the mouthes by the broken lands, which river goeth under the name of the great River Orenoque, the foreland wherof was called Capulio bearing South & by West, wanting a fourth part, from the point of Curiapan aforesaid, being 4. leags distant. They found the maine (as China is reported) full of fresh Rivers running one into another, abounding with fish, and a land al woody, seeming to have great store of strange beasts and foules, & very populous. They entred into a small river called Cabota, the people named Veriotaus, a courteous people. The next river they passed was called Mana in the kingdome of Tivitivas, where the king offered to bring a Canoa full of this golden oare, and to this purpose sent a Canoa, which returned and brought my men this answere, that Armago Captaine of the towne of Orocoa and the Mine refused them, but if they would come thither, hee himselfe would make them answere. Upon this my boat went, and at his appointed place hee met them with some 100. men in Canoas, and tolde them that by force they should have nothing but blowes, yet if they would bring him hatchets, knives, and Jewes-harps, he bid them assure me, he had a Mine of gold, and could refine it, & would trade with me: for token whereof, he sent me 3. or 4. Croissants or halfe moones of gold weighing a noble a piece or more, and two bracelets of silver. Also he told them of another rich nation, that sprinkled their bodies with the poulder of golde, and seemed to be guilt, and farre beyond them a great towne called El

A river called Cabota.

The river of Amana and the kingdome of Tivitivas are both mentioned by Sir Walter Ralegh.

A people sprinkled with poulder of gold.

SIR ROBERT DUDLEY

Dorado, with many other things. My men being satisfied, and thinking their company too fewe to stay among these Savages, and their victuall spent, returned. This Balthazar my Indian their guide ranne from them: which distresse caused them to borrow of Armago newe guides, who brought them home another way through a River called Braha by the high land of Paria, and so to my ship. They accompted Orocoa 150. miles distant, so they rowed in my boate above 250. miles. Their absence from mee was 16. dayes, making but one nights aboad any where. The report of this made mee attempt my company to goe with them againe. But nowe they were worse then before; for unlesse I would have gone my selfe alone, not one man would goe with me (no albeit I had had commission to hang or kill them) for my men came home in very pitifull case almost dead for famine; and indeed such was their misery, as they dranke not in three dayes, for so long they were out of the fresh Rivers, before they recovered the shippe, and yet the boat was filled with as much victuall, as it could holde.

Captaine Pophams arrival.

In this time of my boates absence there came to me a pinnesse of Plimmouth, of which Captaine Popham before named was chiefe, who gave us great comfort. And if I had not lost my pinnesses, wherein I might have caried victuals and some men, we had discovered further the secrets of those places. Also this Captaine and I stayed some sixe or eight dayes longer for Sir Walter Ralegh (who, as wee surmized, had some purpose for this discovery) to the ende, that by our intelligence and his boates we might have done some good: but it seemed he came not in sixe or eight weekes after. So Captaine Popham and I helde it not convenient to stay any longer: therefore new watering our selves at Paracoa, we set saile to see further of the Indies, leaving the yle of Trinidad the 12. day of March. The 13. I tooke a small prize of sackes 25. leagues to the Northward of an yland which I sailed by, called Granata. This prize

[III. 577.]

They depart from the yle of Trinidad.

A prize taken North of the yle of Granata.

refreshed us well: yet meaning to sel her at the yle of Sant Juan de Puerto rico, and shaping our course thither by the ylands of Santa Cruz and Infierno, I coasted all the South side of the said yle of S. John, till I came to an ancker at Cape Roxo: where riding 14. dayes to expect S. Domingo men, which oftentimes fall with the yland of Mona, and finding none (neither would the Spaniards of S. Juan de puerto rico buy my prize) I unladed her, tooke in the goods, and after burned her. This ended, I disemboqued (where fewe Englishmen had done before, by reason of the great dangers betweene this yland of S. Juan de puerto rico and Hispaniola) by a little yland called Zacheo. And after carefully doubling the shouldes of Abreojos, I caused the Master, (hearing by a Pilote, that the Spanish fleete ment now to put out of Havana) to beare for the Meridian of the yle of Bermuda, hoping there to finde the fleete dispersed. The fleete I found not, but foule weather enough to scatter many fleetes; which companion left mee not in greatest extremitie, till I came to the yles of Flores and Cuervo: whither I made the more haste, hoping to meete some great Fleete of her Majestie my sovereigne, as I had intelligence, and to give them advise of this rich Spanish fleet: but finding none, and my victuals almost spent, I directed my course for England.

The yles of Santa Cruz and Infierno. Cape Roxo.

They disemboque by the yle of Zacheo.

The sholds called Abreojos, that is, Open thine eyes, or Looke out. Bermuda.

Flores and Cuervo.

Returning alone, and worse manned by halfe then I went foorth, my fortune was to meete a great Armada of this fleete of some 600. tunnes well appointed, with whom I fought board and board for two dayes, being no way able in all possibilitie with fiftie men to board a man of warre of sixe hundreth tunnes. And having spent all my powder I was constrained to leave her, yet in such distresse without sailes and mastes, and hull so often shot through with my great Ordinance betweene winde and water, that being three hundred leagues from land, I dare say, it was impossible for her to escape sinking. Thus leaving her by necessitie in this miserable estate, I made for England, where I arrived at S. Ives in Cornewall

A fight of two dayes with a Spanish Armada of 600 tunnes.

They arrive at S. Ives in Cornwall in May 1595.

about the latter ende of May 1595, scaping most dangerously in a great fogge the rocks of Silly.

Thus by the providence of God landing safely, I was kindely intertained by all my friends, and after a short time learned more certaintie of the sinking of that great shippe, being also reputed rich by divers intelligences out of Spaine: which we then supposed not, & were doubtfull whether she had bin of Biscay or S. John de Luz in France laden with fish onely from Newfoundland.

In this voyage I and my fleete tooke, sunke and burnt nine Spanish ships; which was losse to them, though I got nothing.

Here follow certaine wordes of the language of Trinidad which I observed at my being there.

Guttemock.	A man.
Tabairo, Dabarah, Or Dabarra.	The heare of ones head.
Dessie	The forehead.
Dasereth, or Dacosi	An eye.
Dalacoack	The mouth.
Archeh	The teeth.
Daria	The gummes.
Desire	The lips.
Dill	The tongue.
Dudica	The eares.
Dacan	A hand.
Dacabbo	The palme of the hand.
Dadena	The wrist.
Dacurle	A knee.
Daddano	The calfe of the legge.
Dabodda	The toes.
Dacutti	The feete.
Cattie	The moone.
Tauraroth	A rope.
Arkeano	A paire of cizers.
Weevah	The heaven.
Harowa	A stone good for the head ache.

Mointiman — Yron or steele.
Howa — Munkeis in generall.
Carotta — A thing like pappe.
Sakel — It is well, or I am well.
Techir — A bracelet.
Bodad — A boxe or chest.
Mentinie — A tree.
Addehegaeno — A glasse.
*Calcouri — Gold.
Perota — Silver.
Tacorao a green stone. } { Arrara copper.
Caulpiri — A white stone.
Casparo A sword. } { Tibetebe cockles.
Marrahabo a bow. } { Semaro an arrow.
Huculle — A bow-string.
Halete — A Potato roote.
Caerwoda — A sweete root.
Maurisse Wheat. } { Queca A basket.
Yeddola A knife. } { Sambolers A hat.
Beyou A pipe. } { Callit Bread.
*Oronuie — Water.
Arguecona — A paire of cizzers.
Heldaro — A spoone.
Hemachugh — A bread which they eate.
Hicket Fire. } { Walrowa A parrot.
Ureit Tabacco. } { Barudda A combe.
Addoth — A sticke.
Barrennaire — A button, or beads.

Curaballa & Sibath, for 2 sundry stones: but Sibath in general signifieth a stone.

Tolletillero bels. } { Ullasso a Tuny-fish.
Bohery A flying fish. } { Bara Water.
Haddalle — The Sunne.

Babage-Canoaseen — The manner of the Indians hailing of a ship, calling it after the name of their Canoas.

Non quo, Or } I know not, Or
Non quapa } I cannot tell.

* *It is before in this voyage called Calvorie.* [III. 578.]

* *The name of the river Orenoque may seeme to be derived from this word.*

The victorious voyage of Captaine Amias Preston now knight, and Captaine George Sommers to the West India, begun in March 1595. Wherein the yle of Puerto Santo, the yle of Coche neere Margarita, the fort and towne of Coro, the stately city of S. Iago de Leon were taken sacked and burned, and the towne of Cumana ransomed, & Jamaica entred. Written by Robert Davie one of the company.

Aptaine Amias Preston, and captaine Sommers, both valiant gentlemen & discreet commanders, lying ready with two tall ships, the Ascension and the Gift, and a small pinnesse at Plimmouth, for the space of a moneth attending the comming of captaine Jones their consort, which in al that time, through the bad dealing of those which he put in trust, could not make his ship in readines, according to his appointment, the 12. of March 1595. set forward on their voyage for the West Indies. We with captaine Jones in the Derling, and Captaine Prowse in the Angel, followed after them the 19. of the said moneth. The last of March, captaine Preston by giving chase to a saile, was separated from captaine Sommers, and his pinnesse, so that they utterly lost sight ech of other: whereupon captain Preston in his ship alone, resolved to surprise the yle of Puerto santo, and shortly after came before the same. This yland standeth in the Northerly latitude of 33. degrees, and lieth to the Northward of the yle of Madera, and is inhabited by old souldiers, which the kings of Portugal were wont to reward for their former olde services, by placing of them there. This yland is rich in corne, wine, & oile: and hath good store of sheep, asses, goats & kine: they have also plenty of foules, fishes, & fruits.

Captaine Preston comming before this yland with one ship only sought with 2. long boats to land his men & to force the same: but the people were on shore in warlike array, with baricados & trenches made, ready to withstand them. Whereupon, considering the great danger, and disadvantage of the place, he caused his people to returne abord againe. And the next morning 3 or 4 houres before day, he landed in a place of greater security, with 60 men onely, who lay closely in a chapel, to defend themselves from the raine til break of the day, and so marched forward upon the backs of their enemies, which kept their baricados upon the shore. By this time the enemie was 500 strong. But, being so suddenly surprised, after some resistance of our muskets, when they saw our pikes approch, and had tasted somewhat of their force they began to flee into certaine thickets, & shrubs, thinking from thence to gall our men: but with very litle or no losse at all, our men dislodged them of that place also. Hereupon, they all fled toward the chiefe towne of the yland: but once againe they thought to make a new stand at a certaine house by the way, from whence they were repulsed by captaine Roberts. So in the flight part of them were slaine, and an ensigne, which one captaine Harvey an English man had lost not long before, was recovered: and the chiefe towne it selfe was by our men wholly woon and possessed. But before the entrance of our men they had conveighed their wives, their children, and the rest of their goods into an exceeding high hil which standeth neere the towne, and could not be conquered, but with exceeding losse. Although they sent divers times to redeeme their towne, which was very faire and large, yet in regard of their crueltie and treachery, which they used towards captaine Harvey and his people, captaine Preston would shew them no favour, but utterly burnt their towne to ashes, and sent his men to wast the rest of their villages of the yland, preferring the honour & just revenge of his country men, before his owne private gaine, &

The yle of Puerto Santo taken and the chiefe towne in it burnt.

commodity. And so with small pillage and great honour he retired in safetie and all his small company with him, from the conquered yland unto his ship. But we in our ship met not with him, untill the 12. of April following. We therefore in the Derling pursuing our voyage, had [III. 579.] sight of the yles of the Canaries the 6 of April, and the 8 of the same, we watered on the Southeast side of the grand Canaria. There we met with capt. Sommers, & his pinnesse, & 3 ships of Hampton, in one whereof was cap. Willis. The 9 of April we al departed for Tenerif to seeke captaine Preston: and standing over towards Tenerif, the 9 day at night I came into captaine Sommers ship. The 10 in the morning we brake our maine yard, yet we recovered Tenerif, & the same day towards night we ankered under the southside of the same. There I went aland in our boat, & found 3 or 4 fisher boats, and brought one of them off. The rest bulged themselves. Here we rode to mend our yard til the 11 at night: then we set saile to find captaine Amias Preston: and standing towards Gomera, the 12 in the morning we had sight of him. Then we thought to have landed in Gomera: but the wind blew so much, that we could not. So we departed altogether with joy the 13 of April, & set our course for the West Indies. And the 8 of May next ensuing, we arrived at the yland of Dominica. In all which time nothing happened unto us saving this, that the 18 day of April at midnight, our admiral lost her long boat in towing. We staied at Dominica til the 14 of May, to refresh our sicke men. Here the Indians came unto us in canoas made of an whole tree, in some wherof were 3 men, in some 4 or 6, & in others 12 or 14, and brought in them plantans, pinos, and potatos, and trucked with us, for hatchets, knives, & small beadstones. Here in refreshing of our men, we found an hot bath hard joyning to a cold river side: wherein our sick men bathed themselves, and were soone recovered of their sicknesses. This is a goodly yland, and some-

They water upon the grand Canaria.

Dominica.

An excellent holesome hot bath found in Dominica.

thing high land, but al overgrowen with woods. The 14 we departed from thence, & the 16 sailing South-westward, we had sight of Granada, but landed not there.

The yles called Testigos. The 17 we arrived at the Testigos & ankered there, and consorted with the 3 ships of Hampton, wherin captaine Willis was. The 18 we landed our men & tooke view and muster of all, & the same night set saile away. The 19 we had sight of Margarita, where the Spaniards by their Indians fish for pearle: we stood in very neere the rode, but saw nothing there. Therefore we went no further in, but stood from it againe. The same day toward night, we had sight of a litle yland, betweene Margarita & the maine, called Coche. We came neer it in the night with our ships within some 5 leagues, & there ankered under the maine side, and about midnight we manned our pinnesses & boats, and in the morning about breake of day, we landed on the yland, wherein are few or none inhabitants, but they commonly come from Margarita in boats on the munday, and remaine there fishing for pearles untill the Saturday, and then returne & cary al that they have taken to Margarita.

Certaine Spaniards and Negros taken in the yle of Coche where they fish for pearle. Here we tooke some few Spaniards and Negros their slaves with them, and had some smal quantitie of pearls. We remained on this iland the 20 and 21, in which time we went a fishing with our seine, and tooke good store of mullets and other fish, and amongst the rest drew a shore in the seine a fish called by the Spaniards Lagarto, and by the Indians Caiman, which is indeed a Crocodile, for it hath 4 feete and a long taile, and a wide mouth, and long teeth, & wil devour men. Some of these Lagartos are in length 16 foot, some 20 foot, and some 30 foot: they have muske in them, and live as wel on the land, as in the water. The 21 of May we departed for Cumana, thinking to have gotten in that night to have landed: but the current striketh so strong out of the bay that we could not recover the towne till day light. In the morning we espied 2 sailes before the towne, but could not fetch them. Here we plied

too and againe in the sound all the forenoone, but could not get up so farre as the towne. These 2 sailes came roome to us, after they saw that we were at an anker, & came somewhat neere us, and sent their skyphs abord our admiral. They were 2 flieboats of Middleburgh which traded there, & had secretly advertised the country of our comming, to our great hinderance: but we knew it not at our first arrivall. Here they of Cumana perceiving that we would land, came to parle with us, and tolde us, if we would land, we might easily take the towne, for they ment not to withstand us, but that they had caried all their goods into the mountaines, but, if we would not land to burne and spoile the towne, they would give us some reasonable ransome, and any victuals that we wanted. So our general agreed with them, received their ransome, and departed without landing. But at our first arrival in this bay, our generals long boat was sent forth wel manned, and tooke 3 Caravels, but found litle or nothing of value in them: saving in one were some sides of bacon, and some maiz and Guiny-wheat. Here we staied til the 23 of May, & in the evening we set saile, and departed from thence. And the 26 of the same we thought to have landed at a fort that standeth by the sea-coast in the Caracos, as you go for S. Iago. This is a marveilous high land, as high as the pike of Tenerif. We could not land here over night, by reason of the roughnes of the sea, which goeth in that place, & there is but one litle creeke against the fort, to come in with your boat. So, we perceiving no fit place to land, by reason of the sea, stood away some league to the West-ward, about a litle head-land, there we ankered al night: and the 27 in the morning we all landed in safety, none resisting us. Then we presently set our selves in aray, and marched toward the fort, & tooke it without any resistance. Here we remained al the rest of this day until the 28, about three of the clock in the afternoone. We found nothing in this fort but a

Two flieboats of Middleburgh forewarne the Spaniards of our comming.

The towne of Cumana ransomed.

Three Caravels taken.

A fort nere the Caracos taken.

litle meale, or 2 or 3 tunnes of wine, which by reason of some disorder amongst the company overcharging themselves with the wine, our general for the most part caused to be spilt. While we remained here, some of our company ranging the woods, found the governor of the fort where he lay asleepe, brought him to our general: who examined him touching the state of the citie of S. Iago de Leon. Who declared unto us that they had newes of our comming a moneth before, and that they of the towne had made preparation for our comming: and that if we did go the common beaten way, it was never possible for us to passe, for that they had made in the midst of the way betweene this fort and the said city, an exceeding strong baricado on the top of a very high hil, the passage being not above 25 or 30 foot in bredth, & on each side marveilous steep-upright, and the woods so thicke that no man could passe for his life: which indeed at our returning backe we found to be true. Upon which speeches our general demanded of him if there were not any other way: who answered, there is another way marveilous bad and very ill to travel, which the Indians do commonly use: but he thought that the Spaniards had stopt the same, by cutting downe of great trees and other things, as indeed they had. This Spaniard was a very weake and sickly man not able to travel, so our generall sent him abord his ship, & there kept him. In the taking of our 3 small Caravels at Cumaná, we had a Spaniard in one of them that had traveiled these wayes to the citie of S. Iago. He told us he would cary us thither by any of both these wayes, if afterward we would set him at libertie: the which was granted. While we remained at the fort by the waters side, the Spaniards came downe unto us by the great & beaten way on horsebacke, who being discovered, our generall sent out to meete them captaine Roberts with some 40 or 50 musketeirs, who came to skirmish with them, but they would not stay. The same day in the afternoone we marched forth toward S. Iago, & tooke

Al our actions betrayed by dangerous spies out of England.

the Indians way called The unknowen way. In our march we came to divers Indians houses, which we never hurt, but passed by and left them untouched: but the Indians were all fled into the woods, and other places, we know not whither. We marched until it was night over such high mountaines, as we never saw the like, and such a way as one man could scarse passe alone. Our general being in the forward, at length came whereas a river descended downe over the mountaines, and there we lodged all that night. Here in going this way, we found the Spanish governours confession to be true: for they had baricadoed the way in divers places with trees, & other things in such sort, that we were driven to cut our way through the woods by Carpenters, which we caried with us for that purpose. The next day being the 29 of May early in the morning we set forward to recover the tops of the mountaines: but (God knoweth) they were so extreeme high and so steep-upright, that many of our souldiers fainted by the way: and when the officers came unto them, and first entreated them to goe, they answered, they could goe no further. Then they thought to make them goe by compulsion, but all was in vaine: they would goe a little and then lie downe, and bid them kill them, if they would, for they could not, nor would not goe any further. Whereby they were enforced to depart, & to leave them there lying on the ground. To be short, at length with much ado we gat the top of the mountaines about noone: there we made a stand til all the company was come up, and would have stayed longer to have refreshed our men: but the fogge and raine fell so fast, that wee durst not stay. So wee made hast to descend towards the towne out of the fogge and raine: because that in these high mountaines by report of the Spaniards themselves, it doeth almost continually raine. Assoone as we were descended downe neere halfe the way to the towne the raine ceased, and going downe a little further, on the toppe of a hill we saw the towne not farre distant from us. Here we all cleared our muskets: and

when our colours came in sight, we discharged a second volee of shot to the great discouragement of the enemie. Thus we marched on a round pace. The enemie was in readinesse a little without the towne to encounter us on horsebacke. Being nowe fully descended from the mountaines wee came into a faire plaine champion fielde, without either hedge, bush or ditch, saving certaine trenches which the water had made, as it descendeth from the mountaines. Here we set our selves in a readinesse, supposing the enemie would have encountered us: but having pitched our maine battell, and marching forward a good round pace, captaine Beling, and captaine Roberts tooke ech of them some loose shoot, and marched in all hast toward the enemie before the maine battell, wherein was our generall with capt. Sommers and came to skirmish with them: but it was soone ended: for the enemie fled. One Spaniard was slaine in this skirmish, and not any one of our companies touched either with piece or arrow, God be thanked. We soone marched into the towne, and had it without any more resistance: but there we found not the wealth that we expected: for they had conveyed all into the mountaines, except such goods as they could not easily cary, as wine, and iron, and such things. By three of the clocke in the afternoone the 29 of May, we entred the citie. Here we remained until the 3 of June without anie great disturbance, saving sometime by night they would come on horsebacke hard unto our Corps du guard, and finding us vigilant, and readie for them, would depart againe.

The Citie of S. Iago de Leon taken the 29. of May.

[III. 581.]

The first of June, there came a Spaniard neere unto us alone: the Corps du guard perceiving him, called our General, who soone came towards him: but before he approched, the Spaniard made signes that he should lay aside his armes: which he refused to doe, but promised as he was a souldier, if he would come, hee should have free passage. Upon which promise hee came to him on horse-backe, and our General brought him within the

towne, and there communed with him. Who demanded what he ment to do with the towne: he answered that he meant to remaine there and keepe it; or if he did depart from it he would burne it. The Spaniard then demanded, what the ransome of it should be. Our General required 30000 ducats. Whereunto he replied that it was very much. So having had some other conference together, hee shewed him that hee had bene a souldier in Flanders a long time, and now was sent thither by his kings commandement. Among other things our General demanded of him, what the reason was they had not walled the citie, being so faire a thing as that was. The Spaniard replied, that hee thought it to bee stronger walled than anie citie in the world, meaning, by those huge & high mountains which the enemie must passe over before he can approch it; which we found very true. Thus with many other faire speeches, he tooke his leave for that day, and told our Generall, that he would go speake with the governour: (but it might be himselfe, for any thing we know) howbeit because our General had granted him free comming and going, he suffred him to depart: who before his departure, requested to have a token of our General, that he might shew to the Governour how he had spoken with us, or else he doubted, that he would not beleeve him. Wherupon our General gave him a piece of 12 pence: so he departed and promised the next day by ten of the clocke to returne unto us with an answere: in which meane time nothing befel. The next day being the 2 of June, at his houre appointed, he returned with his Indian running by his horses side. So he was brought to the Generall, and there remained till after dinner, and dined in his company in the governours house that was. The dinner ended, with the best entertainement which could be given him, they communed again about the ransome of the citie. Our General proposed his old demand of 30000 ducats. The Spaniard first proffered him 2000, then 3000, last of all 4000, and more he would not give. Our General counting it a

small summe of money among so many, did utterly refuse it. So the Spaniard departed. But before his departure our general told him, that if he came not to him again before the next day noone, with the ransome which he demanded, he would set all on fire. That whole day past, and the night also without any thing of moment, except some shew of assault, by their approching towards our Corps du guard, and retiring backe againe. The 3 day being come, in the morning some of our company went forth, a league or more from the towne, & some two leagues and more unto certaine villages thereabout, & set them on fire: but the enemy never came to resist them, so they returned backe againe safe into the towne, and brought certaine Indian prisoners with them, among whom there was one which spake broken Spanish, which being examined, confessed unto us of his own accord, how the General had sent to the other towns thereabout for aide, and that he thought they would be there with him that day. When we understood this, we grew into some distrust of the Spaniards trechery, and thought upon the messenger, how he had used long delayes with us: wherupon we were commanded presently, every man to make ready to depart, and to fire the citie: which forthwith was done. And after we had seene it all on fire, & burnt to ashes, we tooke our leaves and so departed, & marched away that day being the 3 of June, not that way we came, but by the great beaten way. And when we had marched halfe the way towards the waters side, we came unto that strong baricado which they had made, and there lay all that night. Here we found the Spanish captaines word to be true which we tooke at the fort by the waters side: for this baricado was of such force, that 100 men in it wel furnished, would have kept backe from passing that way 100000: first by reason of the huge and high mountaines, next the steepenes of them, on both sides, last of all in regard of the fine contriving of it with the large trenches, and other munitions, which I cease to recite. The fourth

Certain villages about Sant Iago fired.

The citie of S. Iago burned.

day of June in the morning wee departed from thence: but before our departure, wee overthrew on the one side of the steepe hill two bases of yron, which we found there planted by the enemie, and so set forward toward our ships, and by 12 of the clocke came to the waters side, and there remayned in the fort which wee had taken before, untill the fift day at night: in which time we laded some small quantity of hides, and Salsa-perilla, which we found there at our first landing. So the fift day at night we departed from thence, to goe to a towne called Coro: but before wee departed, wee set fire in the fort, and all the Indians houses that were about it, and burnt them. Then we set sayle, and standing along the coast, our Spanish guide signified unto us, that there were foure sayles of ships about five leagues from thence, in a place called Checherebiche, and Caio, and Maio. So the 6 day in the morning we were thwart of the place, and there our generall sent away his long boate with captaine Sommers, unto those places, where they found 3 of the ships: but the Spaniards had conveyed their sailes ashore into the woodes, so that they could not bring them off, but set fire in them and burnt them. From hence we stood along the shore, sailing untill the ninth day of June, on which day toward the evening we imbarked our selves in our pinnesses and small caravels, to land at Coros: but we had none that knew the place certainely: wherefore we ankored that night some two leagues to the Eastward of it, and in the morning I went on land, and nine more with me, to see if we could discover the towne, but we could not, wee went above a league up into the countrey, but could not see any village or towne. So returning backe, wee met our Generall, with divers others which came ashore with him, with whom we marched into the countrey againe, but could see nothing, & so returned. At the water side captaine Prowse died. There we remained all that day on land, by reason the wind blew so much that wee could not get aboord untill the evening. After our

A fort and certain Indians houses by the waters side burnt. [III. 582.]

Three Spanish ships burnt.

comming aboord a boat which we sent into the bay, returned and brought us newes, that there rode a barke within the bay, and by all likelyhood the towne should be there. So presently our Generall went into the bay with the Derling and some of the small caravels. The tenth day in the morning, the rest of our shipping came into the bay, and our men landed the same day, about 10 or 11 of the clocke in the night, & so marched on toward the towne: but in the way they had made baricados, and kept them very strongly. Notwithstanding the courage of our men was such, as that they feared nothing, and forced them to leave their forces, and flie. Having wonne this baricado they there remained untill the next day being the 11 of June, and then early in the morning they marched on towards the towne, where by the way, the enemie often times came to skirmish with them, but alwayes fled. In fine they wan the towne without any great losse of men, God be thanked. Having gotten the town, they found nothing in it at all; for they had intelligence from Sant Iago, how wee had used them before, which caused them to convey all their goods into the mountaines and woods: finding nothing in it, our Generall caused it to be set on fire, thinking it not good to remaine there, but to returne againe, backe to the ships: and the greatest cause was by reason of the departure of captaine Sommers: who the day before in a most furious tempest, being in the pinnesse, with some 50 men at anker, had his cables broken and lost all his ankers, and so was faine to put to sea to save himselfe, otherwise they had bene in danger of perishing. Thus our General and his company, returned backe againe the twelfth day and imbarked themselves, and departed away with all speede to seeke captaine Sommers. The 13 toward night, hee came where captaine Sommers was, and found him riding, but not by anie ankers, but by two bases, which they had made for to stay their barke by: at which meeting the company was very glad. Then they determined to

A baricado woon.

The towne of Coros taken & burnt.

go into a mighty great bay, to a towne called Laguna: but the bay was so deepe and should withall, that we returned backe againe, after wee had stood in two daies & a night. So we sayled over toward the Isle of Hispaniola the sixteenth of June: and the twentieth day we saw it. The 21 we ankored under Cape Tiburon. Here we watered, and stayed untill the 25 of the same. After our departure out of the bay of Laguna, a great sicknes fell among our fleete, and there died about eighty men of the same. This sicknesse was the fluxe of the bellie, which is a common disease in that countrey. We remayned about this Island untill the eight and twentieth of this moneth. Then we departed from thence, and the second of July arrived at the Island of Jamaica. Before our comming hither, the three ships of Hampton had forsaken us, and left our company. And the Derling wherein was captaine Jones, was sent to discover some other secret matter, in which discovery the valiant gentleman ended his life. So our whole fleete was now but our generall, with captaine Sommers, and a small pinnesse. We stayed at this Isle of Jamaica until the sixt of July, in which meane time we landed to see if we could kill any beeves, but we could not, they were so wild: here is great store of them, and great plenty of fresh-fish. We departed hence the 6 of July, and passed by the Islands, called Caimanes, and the Isle de Pinos, and the 12 of the said moneth by Cape de Corrientes where we watered, and the same night, wee set saile towards the cape of S. Anthony, being the westermost part of the Isle of Cuba. The 13 day in the morning we were under this cape, and the same day we met with the honourable knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, returning from his paineful, and happie discovery of Guiana, and his surprise of the Isle of Trinidad. So with glad hearts, wee kept him and his fleete of three ships company till the twentieth day at night, what time we lost them. In all which time nothing of moment fell out, save

The bay of Laguna.

Hispaniola.

Jamaica.

The death of captaine Jones.

Cape de Corrientes.

that we gave chase to a couple of frigats, but could not fetch them.

[III. 583.] Afterward we plyed to recover Havana, untill the five and twentieth of July: then we set our course for the head of the Martyrs, the 27 we were in sight of them. The 28 wee entred the gulfe of Bahama: then we set our course homeward toward Newfoundland, but we could not fetch it, but were on the Banke, and tooke fish there the 20 day of August. The same night we set sayle to come home, by reason the wind was contrary to goe in with Newfoundland. So the tenth day of September, we arrived in safety (God be thanked) in Milford haven in Wales, having performed so long a voyage in the space of sixe moneths, or somewhat lesse.

The Banke of Newfoundland

The voyage truely discoursed, made by sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins, chiefly pretended for some speciall service on the Islands and maine of the West Indies, with sixe of the Queenes ships, and 21 other shippes and barkes, containing 2500 men and boyes, in the yeere 1595. In which voyage both the foresayd knights died by sicknesse.

WEe brake ground out of the sound of Plimmouth on Thursday the 28 of August, and that night ankored againe in Causon bay, where we rode till Friday. Then we set sayle and stoode Southwest: and about three of the clocke the next morning the Hope, wherein sir Thomas Baskervil went, strake upon the Edy stone, and shot off a piece, but after cleared herselfe wel enough.

On Munday at sixe of the clocke in the morning the landes end bare Northwest and by North, and

then we stoode away Southwest and by South for the coast of Spaine.

The 8 of September we tooke two small Flemish fliboats bound for Barbary; which we caried a while with us and afterward dismissed them without doing them any harme: only wee learned newes of them, and stayed them from discrying our fleete to the enemie.

The 26 we saw Forteventura, being one of the Islands of the Canaries.

The 27 being Saturday by breake of day we had over-shot the chiefe towne of Grand Canaria to the Northeast, and then stood about for it againe, and by nine of the clocke were at anker fayre before the fort to the Eastward of the towne some league. At one of the clocke wee offred to land one thousand and foure hundreth men in the sandie bay betwixt the fort and the towne: But by our detracting of the time they had made a bulwarke in the sandie bay and planted Ordinance: so that by reason thereof, and the great breach of the sea that went then on shore we were not able to land without endangering our whole forces, which our General would not doe. There were of Spaniards horsemen and footmen some 900, which played upon us out of their trenches, most of them being shot. At the time of our landing there went by commandement of our Generals within musket shot of the shore, & rode there at ankor some three hours, the Salomon, the Bonaventure, the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the Juell, the Little John, the Delight, the Pegasus, the Exchange, the Francis, the caravell, and the two catches: But when the Generall sir Francis Drake gave over the landing being in his barge, the ships weighed being in some danger, and stoode off againe to the great ships. Then we went to the West end of the Island and there watered: where captaine Grimston going up the hill with 6 or 7 in his company was set upon by the herdmen, who with their dogs and staves killed the captaine and three or foure of his company:

the rest were sore wounded: the Salomons Chirurgian taken prisoner, who disclosed our pretended voyage as much as in him lay: so as the Viceroy sent a caravel of adviso into the Indies, unto all such places as wee did pretend to goe to. Howbeit they had intelligence from the king of all our voyage the eight of August, which was three weekes before we set foorth of England: as also by a Fleming that had seene all our provision at London.

The 28 being Sunday at ten of the clocke at night wee set saile, and stood away Southwest and Southsouthwest some 200 leagues, untill we came in the height of the Islands of Cape Verde, and then more Westerly for Martinino, one of the Islands of the West Indies, which we saw the 27 of October: but the night before we had a storme, in which sir Francis with foure or five other ships bearing on head of the fleete was separated. Then we stood for Dominica, an Island full of inhabitants of the race of the Canibals, not past ten leagues distant from Martinino. In it groweth great store of Tabacco: where most of our English and French men barter knives, hatchets, sawes, and such like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco.

Dominica.

Before we came to Dominica our Generall Sir Francis Drake altered his course, and went for Marigalante, which we had sight of the 28 day, and came to an anker on the Northeast side a saker shot off the shore in 13 fathomes water faire sholding. There the Generall went on shore in his barge, and by chance met a Canoa of Dominicans, to the people whereof he gave a yellow wastcoate of flanell and an hankerchiefe; and they gave him such fruits as they had, and the Dominicanes rowed to Dominica againe. They came thither to fetch some fruits which they sowe and plant in divers places of that Island, which they keepe like gardens.

[III. 584.]

The next morning by breake of day we weyed and stoode betweene the Todos Santos, which are 4 or 5 little Islands betweene Guadalupe and Dominica. There

is nothing upon these Islands but wood. We came to the Southeast side of Guadalupe and there ankered hard aboord the shore: the Southwest side of the Island is deepe water and good ankorage: where that day sir John Hawkins came to us againe standing up from the South side of Dominica. There we watered, washed our ships, set up our pinnesses, and refreshed our souldiers on shore.

The 30 captaine Wignol in the Francis, a barke of 35 tunnes, being the sternmost of sir John Hawkins fleete was chased by five of the king of Spaines frigats or Zabras being ships of 200 tunnes a piece, which came of purpose with 3. other Zabras for the treasure of S. Juan de Puerto rico: The Francis going roome with them, supposing they had bene our owne fleete, was by them taken in sight of our caravel. They left the Francis driving in the sea with 3 or 4 hurt and sicke men, and tooke the rest of our men into their ships, as the prisoners which wee tooke at S. Juan de Puerto rico told us.

The 4 of November we began to unlade the Richard, one of our victuallers, which was by the next day unladen, unrigged and then sunken. Then we stood Northwest & by North: and the next morning saw the Ilands of Monserrata, Redonda, Estazia, S. Christopher and Saba. The biggest of these Islands is not past 8 leagues long. There is good ankorage in 8, 7, and 5 fadomes water faire white sand. Then we stood away Southwest, and on the 8 in the morning being Saturday came to an anker some 7 or 8 leagues off within certain broken Ilands called Las Virgines, which have bene accounted dangerous: but we found there a very good rode, had it bene for a 1000 sails of ships in 14, 12, and 8 fadomes faire sand and good ankorage, high Islands on either side, but no fresh water that we could find: here is much fish to be taken with hookes and nets: also we stayed on shore and fowled. Here sir John Hawkins was extreme sicke; which his sicknes

began upon newes of the taking of the Francis. The 18 day wee weyed and stoode North and by East into a lesser sound, which sir Francis in his barge discovered the night before, and ankored in 13 fadoms, having hie steepe hils on either side, some league distant from our first riding.

The 12 in the morning we weied and set sayle into the sea due South through a small streit but without danger, and then stode West and by North for S. Juan de Puerto rico, and in the after noone left the 3 small Islands called The passages to the Southward of us, and that night came up to the Eastermost end of S. John, where sir John Hawkins departed this life: upon whose decease sir Thomas Baskervil presently went into the Garland. At 2 of the clocke we came to anker at the estermost side of the chiefe towne called Puerto rico in a sandie bay 2 miles off: where we received from their forts and places where they planted Ordinance some 28 great shot, the last of which strake the admirall through the misen, and the last but one strake through her quarter into the sterage, the Generall being there at supper, and strake the stoole from under him, but hurt him not, but hurt at the same table sir Nicholas Clifford, M. Browne, captaine Stratford, with one or two more. Sir Nicholas Clifford and master Browne died of their hurts.

The death of sir John Hawkins.

Then wee set sayle and stood to the Eastward, and at midnight tacked about to the West, and in the morning came to an anker before the point without the towne, a little to the Westwards by the 3 Islands.

The fight at S. Juan de Puerto rico.

The 13 we rode still untill night, when in the beginning with twenty five pinnesses, boats and shallops manned and furnished with fire-workes and small shot wee went into the rode within the great castels, and in despite of them fired the five Zabras of frigats, all ships of two hundreth tunnes the piece or more, quite burning the Rereadmirall downe to the water, which was the greatest shippe of them all, and also mightily spoiled

the admirall and viceadmirall, notwithstanding the castles and ships gave us a hundreth eighty and five great shot, besides small shot abundance. They had also sunke a great shippe in the mouth of the chanell and rafted it over with her mastes almost to the very fortes and castles, so as they thought it impregnable. The frigats had in each of them twenty pieces of brasse, and a hundreth barrels of powder. Their chiefe lading that they brought thither was silke, oyle, and wine. The treasure which they went to fetch, which was brought thither in a ship called the Vigonia, was conveyed into the strongest and surest castell of defence ; being, as one of the prisoners confessed, three millions of ducats or five and thirty tunnes of silver. Also they had sent all the women, children, and unable persons into the woods, and left none but souldiers and fighting men in the towne. The fight on our side was resolute, hote, and dangerous : wherein wee lost some forty or fifty men, and so many were hurt. There was also great death of the Spaniards aboord the frigats, with burning, drowning, and killing, and besides some taken prisoners. [III. 585.]

The 14 we rode stil, being within shot of the uttermost castell : but they fearing the next night we would come in againe, began to warpe up the other 4 frigats, beginning first with the Admirall : which whether by chance or their owne willes wee saw to sinke ; and as wee suppose so did they with all the rest, or else by stealth got up farther within their chiefest forces.

The 15 also we rode still, and at afternoone wee espied a caravell comming from the castell point: but before our pinnesses could fetch her up, she ranne on shore, where our boates could not come at her because of the breach, and also many of the Islanders came downe to guard her with shot. The beginning of this night we weyed, and stoode one houre to the East, and then tacked about to the West.

The 16 being Sunday, and the 17 also we were becalmed.

The 18 we ankered a little to the Southward of the Southwest point of the Island, giving the point a birth because of a shoald of sand that lieth some two cables length off: there we rode in foure, five, and sixe fadomes faire white sand, where wee set up more pinnesses, washed our ships, and refreshed our men on shore. Here the Generall tooke a pinnesse of Hispaniola with divers letters, signifying that two Englishmen of warre had done great hurt along their Island.

The 20 the Generall rowed to the Phenix, the Delight and the caravell, and caused them to wey and anker right against the mouth of a fresh river in two fadomes water in ozie sand to the Southward of the other ships some league or more. The Generall went into this river three or foure leagues up, and tooke horses in the countrey. Sir Thomas Baskervil rowed up the river, and stayed there all night, and went up into the land three or foure leagues.

The 23 wee discharged a barke called the Pulpit and burnt her: and at three of the clocke that afternoone, when we were ready to set saile, there came aboord the Defiance our Admiral, a Spaniard with his wife, who feared some great torment for not having repaired to the towne according to the Generals commandement of that Island, who had commanded that all able men of the fleete should repaire to the towne to defend it against us. Then we stood againe West and by North because of a ledge of rocks that lie sunke 4 or 5 leagues off the Southside of the Island.

Mona. The 25 we stood away southwest, and saw Mona being a lowe flat Island betweene Hispaniola and S. Juan de Puerto rico. That day the Exchange of captaine Winter spent her boult-sprite; and in the beginning of the night the Phenix was sent backe to seeke her: which by Gods help that night met with her, and kept her company until the next morning, then taking in a small cable from her for a towe: but by 9 that morning she spent her maine mast and split her foreyard,

breaking also her tow: so as they were faine to save some trifles out of her and the men, and to sinke the hull. Then we stood away South and South and by West after the fleete: and the 26 in the morning had sight of the fleete againe.

The Isle of Curazao.

The 29 we had sight of the Island called Curazao within eight leagues of the maine, and on the Northwest side came to an anker in very deepe water hard aboord the shore without any danger: but the Generall weyed presently and stoode away Northwest and by West, and Northnorthwest for the maine, and that night saw Aruba, being somewhat a lesse Island then the other: we left it some three leagues to the Southward of us.

Aruba.

Monjes.

On Sunday morning being the last of November wee saw three or foure little Islands called the Monjes, betwixt Aruba and the next North point of the maine. At 12 of the clocke we sawe the maine, where we saw a great current setting to the Westward, and also the water changing very white. The Phenix, the caravell, and one of the catches kept within, and at midnight came under Cape de la Vela, and made a fire, whereby the rest of the fleete came to anker under the Cape, where is a very good rode, faire sholding and sandie ground, fourteene, twelve, and tenne fadoms neere the shore. The Cape is a bare land without trees or shrubs, and falleth in eight or ten leagues Southeast and Northwest: and a saker shot off the point standeth a little Island like Mewestone neere Plimmouth, but somewhat bigger. In the morning the first of December wee imbarked all our souldiers for Rio de la Hacha, which is a towne twenty leagues to the Westwards, one of the ancientest in all the maine, although not very bigge: but it standeth in a most fertile and pleasant soyle. Our men tooke it by ten of the clocke in the night. The ships bearing all that night and the day before in 5 and 6 fadomes, the lesser ships in two fadomes and an halfe water: the

Cape de la Vela.

Rio de la Hacha taken.

Phenix went so neere the shore by the Generals commandement, that shee strake on ground, but got off againe. There lieth to the Eastward of the towne a mile or thereabout a shold of sand: therefore give a birth some halfe league or more before you come right against the town. There wee came to anker in two fadomes, but the great ships rode off in five and sixe fadomes. There is a fresh river about a bow-shot to the Eastward of the towne; whereinto our pinnesses could scarse enter by reason of a barre of sand in the rivers mouth, but within it is navigable for barkes of twenty or thirty tunnes some sixe or eight leagues up.

A shold of sand.

[III. 586.]

A fresh river.

The sixth day the Spaniards came in to talke about the ransome of the towne, but not to the Generall his liking: and that night Sir Thomas Baskervil marched up into the countrey to over-runne those parts: and the Generall the same night with some hundreth and fiftie men went by water sixe leagues to the Eastward, and tooke the Rancheria a fisher towne, where they drag for pearle. The people all fled except some sixteene or twenty souldiers, which fought a little, but some were taken prisoners, besides many Negros, with some store of pearles and other pillage. In the houses we refreshed our selves, and were all imbarked to come away, and then had sight of a brigandine or a dredger, which the Generall tooke within one houres chase with his two barges: she had in her Indie-wheat, which we call Maiz, and some silver and pearle, but of small value.

La Rancheria taken.

On Saturday the seventh, master Yorke captaine of the Hope dyed of sicknes, and then master Thomas Drake the Generals brother was made captaine of the Hope, and master Jonas Bodenham captaine of the Adventure, and master Charles Cæsar captaine of the Amitie.

The tenth day the Spaniards concluded for the ransome of the towne for 24000 ducats, and one prisoner promised to pay for his ransome 4000 ducats.

The fourteenth day they brought in the townes ransome in pearles, but rated so deare as the Generall after conference with them, misliking it, sent it backe againe, giving them foure houres respite to cleere themselves with their treasure.

The sixteenth the governour came into the towne about dinner, and upon conference with the Generall told him plainely, that he cared not for the towne, neither would he ransome it: and that the pearle was brought in without his command or consent, and that his detracting of time so long was onely to send the other townes word, that were not of force to withstand us, whereby they might convey all their goods, cattell, and wealth into the woods out of danger. So the General gave the governour leave to depart according to promise, having two houres to withdraw himselfe in safety.

The seventeenth Sir Thomas Baskervil with the Elizabeth Constance, the Phenix, the caravel with foure or five pinnesses went some five leagues to the Westward, & landing, marched some foure leagues up into the countrey to a place called Tapia, which he tooke & burned certain villages and ferme houses about it. He had some resistance as he passed over a river, but had but one man hurt, which he brought aboord alive with him: he marched one league farther and burnt a village called Sallamca, and so returned with some prisoners, the souldiers having gotten some pillage.

Tapia taken.

Sallamca burnt.

The 18 the Rancheria, and the towne of Rio de la Hacha were burnt cleane downe to the ground, the Churches and a Ladies house onely excepted, which by her letters written to the Generall was preserved. That day wee set sayle and fell to lee-ward, to meete with Sir Thomas Baskervil.

The 19 we weighed and stood to leeward for Cape de Aguja, which the twentieth at sunne rising we saw. It is a Cape subject much to flawes, by reason it is a very hie land: and within the cape lieth an Island within

Cape de Aguja.

the mouth of the sound, which hath a white cliffe or spot in the Westnorthwest part of the Island. The land all about the cape riseth all in homocks or broken steepie hils. A league Southwest within that, (for so falleth the land thereabout) there standeth on the top of a cliffe a watch-house: and a little within that a small Island: you may goe in betweene the maine and it, or to leeward if you lust: and hard within that is the rode and towne of Santa Martha, which at 11 of the clocke we tooke, the people all being fled, except a few Spaniards, Negros & Indians, which in a bravado at our landing gave us some 30 or 40 shot, & so ran away.

Santa Martha taken.

That night their Lieutenant generall was taken and some little pillage brought in out of the woods: for in the town nothing was left but the houses swept clean. In all the main is not a richer place for gold: for the hops were mixt with the earth in every place, and also in the sand a little to the leewards of the towne. In the bay wee had a bad rode by reason of a small moone, for every small moone maketh foule weather all the maine along.

The 21, the Generall caused the towne to be burnt, and all the ships to wey, and stood out, many of the souldiers being imbarked where the Generall had appointed, in the small ships which rode neerest the shore. We lost that night the company of the Phenix, captaine Austin, Peter Lemond, and the Garlands pinnesse, which stood along the shore, and being chased off by gallies out of Carthagena Peter Lemond with nine of our men was taken, the rest came safe to our fleete. [III. 587.]

The 26 we saw the Ilands some twelve leagues to the Eastward of Nombre de Dios standing in toward the shore, but toward night we stood to the offin untill the next day.

The 27 we came into the mouth of Nombre de Dios, and by one of the clocke tooke the towne, the people

Nombre de Dios taken.

being all fled except some 100 Spaniards, which kept the Fort, and played upon us, having in the fort some 3 or 4 small pieces of ordinance, and one of them brake in discharging at us. They gave us also a voley of small shot: but seeing our resolution in running upon them they all fled and tooke the woods.

The towne was bigge, having large streetes, houses very hie, all built of timber, but one Church very faire and large wrought all of timber likewise. Nothing was left in the towne of value: there was a shew in their shops of great store of marchandises that had bene there. There was a mill above the towne, and upon the toppe of another hill in the woods stood a little watch-house, where we tooke twentie sowes of silver, two barres of gold, some money in coyne, besides other pillage.

The towne was situated in a waterie soile, and subject much to raine, very unhealthy as any place in the Indies, having great store of Orenges, plantans, cassavy-roots, & such other fruits; but very dangerous to be eaten for breeding of diseases. To the Eastwarde of the towne within the bay runneth out a fresh river of excellent good water, with houses, and all about it gardens: halfe a league from hence due East into the countrey was an Indian towne, whither as we marched a little before our comming away with an hundred men they had broken downe a bridge to hinder our passage, where they lay in ambush with some twentie or thirtie small shot, and bowes and arrowes, set upon us, and killed Lieutenant Jones, hurt three or foure and so fled into the woods, ranne before us and fired their owne towne, and then fled farther into the woods: our men fired diverse other houses in pursuing them, and so returned againe: our Generall with Sir Thomas being in the Rivers mouth with thirtie or fortie men filling water about some myle from us. *An Indian towne fired.*

The road of Nombre de Dios is a faire road: but on each side, as you come to ride before the towne, lyeth a ledge of rockes, but there is no danger because they

are in sight. You may ride betweene them in three or foure fadome water, and without if you will in eight or ten fadomes, where neither Castle nor Fort can annoy you. The name of Nombre de Dios was greater then their strength. For they had no Castle nor Fort, but onely the little fort aforesaid standing on the top of an hill, although they might have made it stronger if they would.

The 29 sir Thomas Baskervil with 750 armed men, besides Chirurgians and provand boyes, went for Panama.

The last of December the Generall burned halfe the towne, and the first of Januarie burnt the rest, with all the Frigats, Barks & Galiots, which were in the harbour and on the beach on shore, having houses built over them to keepe the pitch from melting.

The second of January sir Thomas returned with his souldiers both weary and hungry, having marched more then halfe the way to the South sea. The Spaniards played divers times upon us both outward and homeward in the woods, the way being cut out of the woods & rockes both very narrow, and full of myre and water. The march was so sore as never Englishman marched before. Having marched some ten leagues in a marvellous straite way, upon the top of an hill, through which we must needes passe, the Spaniards had set up a Fort and kept it with some 80 or 90 men, who played upon us as we came up, before wee were aware of them, and so killed some twentie or more of us, amongst whom was Captaine Marchant quarter-master Generall, and Ensigne Sampson, Maurice Williams one of her Majesties guard, besides diverse were hurt, as M. Captaine Nicholas Baskervil a valiant gentleman, with divers others. Then sir Thomas had perfect knowledge that they must passe two such Forts more, if he got that, besides Panama to be very strong, the enemie knowing of our comming long before.

Also our souldiers had no victuals left, nor any meanes

to get more: which considerations caused sir Thomas to returne and give over his attempt. As he marched thitherward he tooke an Indian and sent him to Nombre de Dios with letters of his returne and proceeding.

The 5 we set saile at 12 of the clocke, and stood to the Westward.

The Ile of Escudo.

The 10 day we saw an Iland lying Westward some 30 leagues called Escudo, where wee came to anker on the Southside in 12 fadoms water, faire sand and good ankorage. If you come into the Easterne point, give it a birth, because of a ledge of rockes, that lyeth out there from the end of the Island: comming to anker we sawe a roader, who seeing us, set sayle, but that night with our Pinnesses we tooke him, he had nothing in him but a little maiz. The men being examined by the Generall confessed him to be an Advisor sent from Nombre de Dios to all the ports along the coast Westward. This Iland lyeth 9 or 10 [III. 588.] leagues from the maine, & is not past two leagues long full of wood, and hath great store of fresh water in every part of the Iland, and that very good. It is a sickly climat also, and given to much raine: here we washed our ships, and set up the rest of our Pinnesses.

The 15 day Captaine Plat died of sicknesse, and then sir Francis Drake began to keepe his cabin, and to complaine of a scowring or fluxe.

The 23 we set saile and stood up again for Puerto Bello, which is but 3 leagues to the Westwards of Nombre de Dios.

The death of sir Francis Drake.

The 28 at 4 of the clocke in the morning our Generall sir Francis Drake departed this life, having bene extremely sicke of a fluxe, which began the night before to stop on him. He used some speeches at or a little before his death, rising and apparelling himselfe, but being brought to bed againe within one houre died. He made his brother Thomas Drake and captaine Jonas Bodenham executors, and M. Thomas Drakes sonne

his heire to all his lands, except one manor which he gave to captaine Bodenham.

Puerto Bello. The same day we ankored at Puerto Bello, being the best harbour we found al along the maine both for great ships and small. There standeth a saker shot off the shore at the Easterne point a little Iland: and there is betwixt the maine & that 5 or 6 fadomes: but the best comming in is the open mouth betwixt that Iland & another Iland that lyeth to the westward with a range of rocks.

In Puerto Bello were but 8 or 10 houses, besides a great new house which they were in building for the Governour that should have bene for that place: there was also a very strong Fort all to the waters side with flankers of great trees and stones filled with earth betweene: and had not our comming disappointed their pretence, they would have made it one of the strongest places in all the maine. There they ment to have builded a great towne. We found there three pieces of brasse ordinance sunke in the sea, which we weighed up, all the people were fled and their goods carried away.

Up within this bay there was a little village but of no force, where we found a great fresh river, our men rowing up some two leagues found pillage, as wine and oyle, and some small quantitie of yron. After our comming hither to anker, and the solemne buriall of our Generall sir Francis in the sea: Sir Thomas Baskervill being aboord the Defiance, where M. Bride made a sermon, having to his audience all the captaines in the fleete, sir Thomas commanded all aboord the Garland, with whom he held a Councell, & there shewing his Commission was accepted for General, & captain Bodenham made captaine of the Defiance, & M. Savill captaine of ye Adventure.

The 27 died captaine Josias of the Delight, and captaine Egerton a Gentleman of the Foresight, and James Wood chiefe chirurgion of the fleete out of the Garland.

The 28 died Abraham Kendall out of the Saker. At this place we watered againe, washed our ships & made new sailes, it being by the Generall and all the captaines agreed, that if we could by any meanes turne up againe for Santa Martha, we should, if not, to goe directly for England. Here also we tooke in some balast as our neede required.

The 6 of Februarie the Elizabeth of M. Wattes was discharged and sunke, and that day the Pegasus jolly was going on shore for water, carying no guarde: The Spaniards perceiving it came downe upon them, killed two of them, and tooke 2 or 3 prisoners, and so ranne up into the woods againe.

The seventh the Delight and captaine Edens frigat were discharged and sunke because they were old and leaked, and the Queenes ships wanted saylers.

That day our men being mustered we had sicke and whole 2000. And the next day we set on shore all our prisoners as Spaniards and Negros. But before at our first comming to Puerto Bello sir Thomas sent two of those Spaniards to Nombre de Dios and to Panama to fetch ransome for some of the chiefest prisoners, but they never returned againe. As we were setting saile there came one with a flagge of truce, and told the General that they had taken 18 of our men, and that they were well used, adding that if he would stay 8 or 10 dayes longer they should be brought from Panama. We supposed this to have bene but a delay to have kept us there while the kings forces had come about by sea, as they dayly expected. We set saile the 8 of Februarie, turning up for Santa Martha, and the 14 day we saw the Ilands of Baru some 14 leagues to the Westward of Carthagena: The Generall that night told us he would stand in for the towne of Baru in the bay: but that night blew so much winde and continued that small moone, that the same night we lost the Foresight, and the next day standing againe to make the land which we had made,

we lost companie of the Susan Parnel, The Helpe, and the Pegasus. Then the next day we put over for Cape [III. 589.] S. Antonie, and gave over Santa Martha.

The Grand Cayman.

The 25 we saw the Iland of Grand Cayman some 30 leagues to the Northwestward of Jamaica, being a low sandie Iland, having many tortoyses about it.

The 26 we saw the hie land of Cuba to the Eastward of the broken Ilands, to the East of the Iland of Pinos, and were imbayed in among those dangerous places. But perceiving it, we stood out againe South-southeast and so got cleere, and then stood away West and by North for the Ile of Pinos, which we saw the first of March. It is a low land with wood and fresh water to the Western end. If you come in with the middest of it you shall see rise up above the rest of the land 8 or 9 round homockes, and the Westermost hath three in one.

The Ile of Pinos.

Being shot foorth with the West end, and standing in for to water we espied 20 sayle of ships about one in the afternoone. This was a third part of the fleete which the king sent for Carthagena, the rest of the fleete being gone for the Honduras. They were in all 60 sailes sent onely to meete our fleete, being commanded wheresoever they heard we were, to come upon us with all their three forces. This fleete which we met withall came standing for Cape de los Corrientes, and had bene refreshed at Havana.

As soone as they discried us, they kept close upon a tacke, thinking to get the winde of us: but we weathered them. And when our Admirall with all the rest of our fleet were right in the winds eye of them, sir Thomas Baskervil putting out the Queenes armes, and all the rest of our fleete their braverie, bare roome with them, and commanded the Defiance not to shoot, but to keepe close by to second him. The Viceadmirall of the Spaniards being a greater ship than any of ours, and the best sayler in all their fleete loofed by and gave the Concord the two first great shot, which she repayed

presently againe, thus the fight began. The Bonaventure bare full with her, ringing her such a peale of ordinance and small shot withall, that he left her with torne sides. The Admirall also made no spare of powder and shot. But the Defiance in the middest of the Spanish fleete thundering of her ordinance and small shot continued the fight to the end. So that the Viceadmirall with 3 or 4 of her consorts were forced to tacke about to the Eastward, leaving their admirall and the rest of the fleete, who came not so hotly into the fight as they did. The fight continued two houres & better. At sunne set all the fleete tacked about to the Eastward, we continued our course to the Westward for cape de los Corrientes, supposing we should have met with more of their consorts. In this conflict in the Defiance we had five men slaine, three English men, a Greeke and a Negro. That night some halfe houre after, their fleete keeping upon their weather quarter, we saw a mightie smoke rise out of one of their great ships which stayed behind: which happened by meanes of powder as we thinke, and presently after she was all on a light fire, and so was consumed and all burnt, as we might well perceive.

The fight betweene the English and the Spanish fleetes.

One of the Spanish great ships burnt.

The next day being the second of March in the morning by breake of day we were hard aboord Cape de los Corrientes, which is a bare low cape, having a bush of trees higher than the rest some mile to the Eastward of the cape. All Cuba is full of wood on the Southside. The Spanish fleete which then were but 14 no more than we were, kept still upon our weather quarter, but dared not to come roome with us although our Admirall stayed for them. Assoone as we had cleered our selves of the Cape 3 of their best saylers came roome with the Salomon, which was so neere the land that she could not double the Cape, but tacked about to the Eastward, & so was both a sterne and also to leeward of all our fleete: But when we saw the Spaniards working, the Defiance tacked about to rescue her: which the Spaniards seeing, and having not forgotten the fight which she

made the night before, they loofed up into the middest of their fleete againe, and then all the fleete stayed untill the Salomon came up, and so stood along for Cape S. Antonio, which wee came in sight of by two in the after noone, being a low cape also, and to the Southwest a white sandie bay, where 3 or 4 ships may very well water. There is a good road for North & Easterly windes: there the Spaniardes began to fall a sterne. That night wee stood away a glasse or two Northwest, and Northnorthwest, and Northeast, and in the morning-watch South, and in the morning had sight of Cuba about the East part of the Organes, which are dangerous rocks lying 8 leagues off upon the North part of Cuba, presently assoone as you passe Cape S. Anthonie: then we stood to the Eastward of the land, the winde at Southsouthwest, and at 6 at night had foule weather, but after were becalmed all night. The 5 the winde came scant. The 7 we sawe a hie land like a crowne, which appeareth so 13 or 14 leagues to the Westward of Havana, and another place in Cuba called The Table, 8 leagues to the Eastward of the crowne. The land over Havana maketh two small mountaines like a womans breasts or paps. Here we found no great current untill we came to the Gulfe of Bahama.

Cape Sante Antonio.

The Crowne.

The Cape of Florida.

The 10 we saw the Cape of Florida being but a reasonable low land and broken Ilands to the Southward of the Cape. And at two in the afternoone we lost sight of the land 12 leagues to the Northward of the Cape. After we had disemboqued, we stood West till midnight, and were in 28 degrees, and then stood Northeast till the 13 at night, when we were in 31 degrees. And after the wind scanted with a great storme, in which we lost the Bonaventure, and the Little John, they bearing on head. Then we stood with our larbord tacked Eastsoutheast.

[III. 590.]

The 19 we were in 29 degrees our course Eastnortheast. The 21 we had a great stormie gale of winde

and much raine but large. And then all the rest of our fleete fell a sterne except the Hope, which bare a head: so that there kept no more with the Admirall, but the Defiance, the Adventure, and the Phenix.

The 28 we were in 39 degrees, and stood away for Flores, which the 8 of Aprill we saw, and the 9 came to an anker on the Southside, where we watered because the Defiance when we came in had but two buts of water. We bartered with the Portugals for some fresh victuals, and set here on shore at our comming away out of the Admirall our two Portugall Pilots; which sir Francis Drake caried out of England with him.

The 10 being Easter-eve at night we set saile the winde serving us to lie some slent in our course. That night and Easter day we had much raine: the winde came up at Northeast, wee beate it up some 30 leagues to the Eastward, & then about to the West, and so againe to the East, and tryed, and the next boord to the West. On Thursday towards night, being the 16 wee had sight of Corvo againe, we tryed all that night: and on Friday towards night we came to an anker to the Westward of the point of Santa Cruz under Flores: but before midnight we drave, and set saile the next day standing away Northeast. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde came up againe at North. On sunday the 19 by two of the clocke in the afternoone we had made 20 leagues an East way: and then the winde came up a good gale at Northwest, and so Northeast with a flowne sheete we made the best way we could: but being dispersed by bad weather we arrived about the beginning of May in the West parts of England. And the last ships which came in together to Plimmouth were the Defiance, the Garland, the Adventure, and the Phenix.

[A Libell

A Libell of Spanish lies written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Armada, concerning some part of the last voyage of sir Francis Drake; together with a confutation of the most notorious falsehoods therein contained, and a declaration of the truth by M. Henrie Savile Esquire: and also an approbation of both by sir Thomas Baskervil Generall of her Majesties Armada after the decease of sir Francis Drake.

To the courteous Reader.

Hereas Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the Spanish fleete, hath by his printed letters published to the world diverse untruthes, concerning our fleete and the commanders thereof, seeking thereby his owne glorie, and our disgrace; I have taken upon me (though of many least able) to confute the same, the rather for that the printed copie came first into my hands, having my selfe bene Captaine of one of her Majesties ships in the same voyage. Take this therefore (gentle Reader) as a token of my dutie and love to my countrey and countrey-men, and expect onely a plaine truth, as from the pen of a souldier and Navigator: Which if you take in good part, you may draw me hereafter to publish some greater labour.

Henry Savile.

THe true copie of a letter found at the sacking of Cadiz, written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his Navie in the West Indies, sent unto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, and by him put in print with privilege: wherein are declared

many untruthes, and false reports, tending to the disgrace of the service of her Majesties Navie, and the commanders thereof, lately sent to the West Indies, under the command of sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins Generals at the sea; and sir Thomas Baskervill Generall at land: with a confutation of divers grosse lies and untruthes, contayned in the same letter: together with a short relation of the fight, according to the truth. [III. 591.]

Copia de una carta, que embio Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, General de la Armada de su Magestad, embiada al Doctor Pedro Florez Presidente de la casa de la contratacion de las Indias: en que trata del sucesso de la Armada de Ynglatierra, despues que partio de Panama, de que fue por General Francisco Draque, y de su muerte.

DE Cartagena di cuenta a vuestra Merced como sali del puerto de la ciudad de Lisbona, en busca de la armada Ynglesa, aunque por la mucha priessa, no se pudieron reparar tanbien los Galeones como fuera necessario, y con el tiempo se perdio uno, y por desgracia se quemo un Filibote, y aviendo andado muchos dias en busca del enemigo, hasta que llegue a Cartagena, donde aviendo tomado el parecer de Don Pedro de Acunna Governador y capitan general de aquella ciudad, porque tenia mucha necessidad de agua, y reparar los Navios por que venian faltos della, me detuve en aquel puerto, adonde tuve noticia por un Aviso, que Francisco Draque murio en Nombre de Dios, de pena de aver perdido tantos Baxeles y gente, aunque despues se supo mas por estenso. Y aviendo dado a vuestro Merced cuenta de lo que hasta alli a sucedido, agora la doy de que sali de aquel puerto a dos de Marzo, y tome la derrota de la Havana, donde entendi hallarlo: y aviendo hecho la diligencia

posible, Lunes à onze del dicho mes, alas dos despues de medio dia, al salir de la Ysla de Pinos, en la ensenada de Guaniguanico, tope con el, que yva con catorze Navios muy buenos: fueme arrimando a el, aunque tenia el viento por suyo, y el Almiranta que yva mas al viento con otros dos Navios commenzo arrimarsele, y aunque vino sobre ella con todos los suyos tres vezes, no fue parte acercarsele paraque quisiesse envestir: los que estavamos mas apartados fuymos dando bordos acercandonos hasta jugar la artilleria, Mosqueteria, y Arcabuzeria de los mas dellos, en lo qual el recibio muy conocido danno, el lo hizo con el artilleria como suele, y particularmente el Almiranta, y en reconociendo la voluntad con que a el nos arrimavamos, con mas diligencia de lo que se puede creer se desembarazo de todos, poniendose en huyda, dando las velas, dexando en la mar todas las Lanchas que traya. Yo le segui con nueve Navios toda la noche, y con quatro mas todo el dia, hasta hazerle doblar el cabo de Sant Anton, y tomar la derrota de la Canal de Bahama, conforme a las instruciones de su Magestad: sirvio de poco el ver me con menos numero de Navios, ni todas las diligencias que se hizieron, para que se inclinase a esperar ni abordar, ni tirar un arcabuz, ni una pieza, porque el se dio la diligencia que pudo, porque sus Navios los avia reduzido a la mitad, y los mejores, y estos acabava de reparar en Puerto Bello, donde se estuvo mas de quarenta dias, y ansi venian muy reparados; y yo saque los mios desbaratados, que no me dio el tiempo lugar para aderezarlos. A que navego dos meses y medio, y traygo la capitana, que desde que parti de Cartagena no an parado las bombas, y el dia que sali se me lo arrimo una Zabra con esta necessidad; la Almiranta y los demas Navios vienen con el mismo trabajo, pero sin embargo, por lo que yo vi en los enemigos; era muy conocida la ventaja que nos hazia, y mucha dicha seria apoderarse del, sino es hallarlo sobre el Ferro. Con todo esso me an dexado un Navio muy bueno en las manos con muy buena

gente, la qual dize como murio el Draque en Nombre de Dios, y que va por general de la dicha armada Ynglesa el Coronel Quebraran, y por el poco lugar que se a dado no an podido tomar Agua, lenna, ni carne, y van de manera que no se como an de llegar a Ynglatierra. Entre la gente deven de ser ciento y quarenta, y quinze nobles capitanes de lo mejor de alli, y algunos ricos, segun se echa de ver en ellos. No se ofrece otra cosa: nuestro sennor guarde a vuestra Merced, como puede, y yo desseo. De la Havana. 30 de Marzo, de 1596. Annos.

Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda.

EL Licenciado Don Juan Bermudes y Figueroa, Teniente mayor de Assistente desta ciudad de Sevilla y su tierra, que hago officio de Assistente della por ausencia de su Sennoria del Conde de Priego, Doy licencia a Rodrigo de Cabrera, para que pueda imprimir la Relacion de la muerte de Francisco Draque. La qual haga por dos meses, y por ellos no lo imprima otro alguno. So pena de diez mil maravedis para la camara de su Magestad. Fecha en Sevilla a quinze de Mayo, de mil y quinientos y noventa y seys annos.

El Licenciado Don Juan Bermudez y Figueroa.

Por su mandado, Gregoria de Gutierez, Escrivano. [III. 592.]

[The Spanish

The Spanish letter Englished.

The Copie of a letter which Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaine his armie, sent unto Doctor Peter Florez, President of the contractation house for the Indies, wherein he maketh mention of the successe of the English armie, after they departed from Panama, whereof was Generall Francis Drake, and of his death.

Rom Cartagena I gave relation unto your Worship how I departed from the citie of Lisbone, in the pursuite of the English armie: although for the great haste the Galeons could not be so well repaired as was needfull, and with foule weather one was lost, and a Fly-boat was burnt. And having sayled many dayes in pursuite of the enemie, untill I arrived at Cartagena, and there taking the advise of Don Pedro de Acunna, Governour of the citie, and Captaine generall (for wee had great neede of water, and to repaire our shippes) we stayed in that port: whereas I had intelligence by an Indian that Francis Drake died in Nombre de Dios, for very griefe that he had lost so many Barkes and men, as was afterwards more manifestly knowen. Thus having given you a relation of all that happened hitherto, now I let you understand, that I left this Port the second of March, and tooke our course towardes Havana, where I thought to have found the English fleete. And having used all the diligence possible, upon Munday the eleventh of the said moneth, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, at the end of the Ile of Pinos, in the entrance of Guaniguanico, I met with the English fleete, being fourteene very good ships: I drew towardes them although they had the winde of us, and our

Admirall who bore up towards the winde, with other two ships beganne to draw neere them, and although we set thus upon them, three times with all their ships, yet would they not set againe upon us, and those of our men which were farthest off cryed to them amaine, being both within shot of artillerie, muskets, and calivers, whereby they received evident hurt by us: They plyed their great ordinance according to their manner, and especially their Viceadmirall, and seeing our resolution how sharpe we were bent towards them, they with all expedition and speede possible prepared to flie away, hoysing sailes and leaving their boates for haste in the sea: but I followed them, with nine ships all the night following, and with foure more the next day, till I made them double the Cape of S. Antonie, and to take the course towards the Chanell of Bahama, according to the instructions from his Majestie. It little availed us to be seene, with lesse number of ships, neither yet all the diligence we could use, could cause them to stay or come neere us, nor to shoot off one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, for they fled away as fast as they could, and their shippes were halfe diminished, and that the best part of them: the rest they repaired in Puerto Bello, whereas they were about fortie dayes, and so by that meanes they were all well repayred; and our shippes were very foule, because the time would not permit us to trim them: I have sayled 2 moneths and a halfe in the Admirall, since we departed from Cartagena, we have not repaired their pumpes nor clensed them: and the same day I departed thence, there came unto me a small Pinnesse in the like distresse: our Viceadmirall and the rest of our ships have the like impediment, but no great hinderance unto us, for ought I could perceive by our enemies: It is manifest what advantage they had of us, and by no meanes was it possible for us to take them, unlesse we could have come to have found them at an anker. Neverthelesse they left us one good shippe behinde for

our share, well manned, which tolde me that Drake died in Nombre de Dios, and that they have made for Generall of the English fleete the Colonel Quebraran: and also by meanes of the small time, being straightly followed by us, they had no opportunitie to take either water, wood or flesh, and they are also in such bad case, that I know not how they will be able to arrive in England. The number of men we have taken are about an hundred and fortie, and fifteene noble captaines of their best sort, and some of them rich, as well may appeare by their behaviour: I have no other thing to write at this time. Our Lord keepe you who best can, and as I desire. From Havana the 30 of March, 1596.

[III. 593.] Don Bernaldino Delgadillo De Avellaneda.

THe Licenciat Don John Bermudes of Figueroa Lieutenant of the Assistants of the citie of Sivill, and the Province thereof, who doth supply the office of the Assistant in the absence of the Right honourable the Earle of Priego, giveth licence to Roderigo de Cabriera to imprint the Relation of the death of Francis Drake, which onely he may do for two moneths, and no other to imprint the same within the said terme, upon paine of tenne thousand Maravedis for his Majesties chamber. Given in Sivill the 15 of May 1596.

The Licenciat Don John Bermudes of Figueroa.

By his Assigne Gregorie Gutierez Notarie.

THis letter of the Generall Don Bernaldino sent into Spaine declaring the death of Sir Francis Drake and their supposed victorie, was altogether received for an undoubted trueth, and so pleasing was this newes unto the Spaniarde, that there was present commandement given to publish the letter in print, that all the people of Spaine might be pertakers of this common joy: the which letter printed in Sivill, bearing date the 15 of May, 1596 came to the hands of Henrie Savile

Esquire, who being employed in that service for the West Indies, and Captaine of her Majesties good shippe the Adventure, under the conduct of sir Francis Drake, and sir John Hawkins, hath caused the said printed letter to be translated into English. And that the impudencie of the Spanish Generall may the more plainely appeare, the sayde Henrie Savile doth answere particularly to every untrueth in the same letter contayned, as hereafter followeth.

The answere to the Spanish letter.

First the Generall doth say, that Francis Drake died at Nombre de Dios, as he had intelligence by an Indian.

The Generals first newes, & his best newes is in part lying newes.

THe Generall sent this newes into his countrey confirmed with his hand and seale of Armes: It is the first newes in his letter, and it was the best newes that he could send into Spaine. For it did ease the stomackes of the timorous Spaniards greatly to heare of the death of him, whose life was a scourge and a continuall plague unto them: But it was a point of great simplicitie, and scarcely beseeming a Generall, to tie the credite of his report locally to any place upon the report of a silly Indian slave. For it had bene sufficient to have sayd, that Francis Drake was certainly dead, without publishing the lie in print, by naming Nombre de Dios: for it is most certaine sir Francis Drake died twixt the Iland of Escudo, and Puerto Bello: but the Generall being ravished with the suddaine joy of this report as a man that hath escaped a great danger of the enemie, doth breake out into an insolent kinde of bragging of his valour at Sea, and heaping one lie upon another, doth not cease untill he hath drawen them into sequences, and so doth commende them unto Peter the Doctor, as censor of his learned worke.

Secondly, The Generall doth write unto the Doctor, that Francis Drake died for very griefe that he had lost so many barkes and men.

A Thing very strange that the Generall or the Indian whom hee doth vouch for his lie, should have such speculation in the bodie of him whom they never saw, as to deliver for truth unto his countrie, the very cause or disease whereof hee died: and this second report of his is more grosse then the first. For admit the mistaking of the place might be tollerable; notwithstanding, this precise affirming the cause of his death doth manifestly proove that the Generall doth make no conscience to lie. And as concerning the losse of any Barkes or men in our Navie, by the valour of the Spaniard before Sir Francis Drake his death, we had none (one small pinnesse excepted) which we assuredly know was taken by chance, falling single into a fleete of five Frigates (of which was Generall Don Pedro Telio) neere unto the Iland of Dominica, and not by the valour of Don Bernaldino: the which five Frigates of the kings afterwardes had but ill successe, for one of them we burnt in the harbour of S. Juan de Puerto rico, and one other was sunke in the same harbour, and the other three were burnt amongst many other shippes at the taking of Cadiz. This I thinke in wise mens judgements, will seeme a silly cause to make a man sorrowe to death. For true it is, sir Francis Drake died of the fluxe which hee had growen upon him eight dayes before his death, and yeelded up his spirit like a Christian to his creatour quietly in his cabbin. And when the Generall shall survey his losse, he shall finde it more then the losse of the English, and the most of his, destroyed by the bullet: but the death of Sir Francis Drake was of so great comfort unto the Spaniard, that it was thought to be a sufficient amendes, although their whole fleete had beene utterly lost.

Don Bernaldino doth lie impudently.

The successe of the kings five Frigats. [III. 594.]

The certaine cause whereof sir Francis Drake died.

Thirdly, the Generall doth say of his owne credite, and not by intelligence from any Indian or other, that on the eleventh of March last he met the English fleete at the Ile of Pinos, being fourteene good shippes: who although they had the winde of him, yet he set upon them three times with all their shippes: but the English Fleete fled, and refused to fight, shooting now and then a shot, but especially the Viceadmirall.

THis third lie of the Generall Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda (whose name for the prolixitie thereof may be drawen somewhat neere the length of a cable) hath no colour of protection, but it hath a just proportion in measure to the lies of olde Bernardino de Mendoza his countreyman, concerning the overthrowe of hir Majesties Navie in the yeere one thousand five hundred eightie and eight. For except Don Bernaldino the Generall did purpose to winne the whetstone from Don Bernardino de Mendoza the olde Spanish lyer; I cannot conjecture why he should write to his countrey for a truth, that he chased the English Navie with nine shippes, and did three severall times give the onset to the English fleete, who being fourteene good shippes (as he saith) did flie and refuse to fight; considering that the Spanish Viceadmirall (if he be living) and many other can witnesse the contrarie: who fighting like a true valiant man, departed from the fight with a torne and battered shippe to save her from sinking. Neither can I imagine that there is any one in the Spanish Fleete (Don Bernaldino excepted) that will say they were lesse then twentie sayle of shippes when they met the English fleete: and the Spanish Navie can witnesse that they received such store of bullets from the English fleete, that they were glad to depart, and in despight of them the English navie did holde their determined course: And taking a viewe of the Spanish fleete the next day, their number was not above thirteene

A payre of Spanish liers.

The Spanish Viceadmirall a man of valour.

The number of Spanish ships after the fight.

ships, which did argue that they were either sunke or fled to harbour to save themselves.

** The translation of the Spanish word Lanchas is here mistaken.*

Fourthly, the General saith, that the English fleete fled away, and left their *oares for hast behind them in the sea.

This lie was made in the Generals own forge.

IT was strange that they should leave behinde them oares in the sea, sithence there was not in the English fleete either Galley or Galliasse, which required the use of oares: as for the oares of their ship-boates and other such small vessels, they had stowed them aboord their shippes, and were no impediment unto them, but most necessarie for them to use, and therefore not likely they would cast them overboord: But it is more likely, that the Generall fell into some pleasant dreame at Sea, wherein he did see a false apparition of victorie against the English, and for lacke of matter did set this downe in his letter for newes to his countrey: It is sinne to belie the Devill, and therefore the Generall shall have his right: the letter is so well contrived, and yet with no great eloquence, but with such art, that there are not many more lines, then there are lies, which shewed that there are wonderfull and extraordinarie gifts in the Generall: but I am perswaded if Don Bernaldino had thought that his letter should have beene printed, he would have omitted many things conteined in the letter: for the Doctor did use him somewhat hardly in shewing the letter openly, and more in suffering it to bee printed: for friendes may like good fellowes send lies one to the other for recreation, and feed their friends with some small taste thereof, so it be kept close, without danger to incurre the title of a lying Generall: But as the matter is now handled through the simplicitie of the Doctor, I cannot see but the Generall Don Bernaldino is like to carrie the title equally twixt both his shoulders.

Fiftly, the Generall doth say in his printed letter, that notwithstanding all the diligence he could use, he could not cause the English fleete to stay nor come neere them, nor discharge one harquebuze or peece of artillerie, but fled away as fast as they could. [III. 595.]

AND this lie also he doth not receive by intelligence from any other, but himselfe was an eye-witnesse in the action, which made him bold to sende this with the rest into his countrey for current newes: but herein Don Bernaldino was more bolde than wise, for the torne and battered sides of his Galeons, being compared with her Majesties shippes, and others that served in that fight, doe declare, that his ships received at least two bullets for one. Neither can it be concealed but his owne countreyman (if any do favour truth) may easily see the losse, and late reparations, done unto the kings fleete, sithence they did encounter with the English Navie, whensoever they that remaine shall arrive in Spaine. But the Generall seemeth to be a very good proficient in his profession, and waxeth somewhat bold, treading the true steps of olde Bernardino de Mendoza: and yet Mendoza was somewhat more warie in his lies, for he had sometime the colour of intelligence to shadowe them: but the Generall growing from boldnesse to impudencie maketh no scruple to say, that the English Navie fled as fast as they could without discharging any harquebuze or peece of artillerie, when as the battered sides of his ships doe returne the lie to his face: For in this conflict Don Bernaldino did behave himselfe so valiantly, that he was alwayes farthest off in the fight, and had so great care of his owne person, that he stoode cleare from the danger of musket or any small shot, and durst not approch; whereas our Generall was the foremost, and so helde his place, untill by order of fight other shippes were to have their turnes, according to his former direction: who wisely and politikely had so ordered his vangarde,

The torn sides of the Spanish ships doe condemne Don Bernaldino of lying.

The order of the English Navie.

and rereward, that as the manner of it was altogether strange to the Spaniarde, so might they have bene without all hope of victorie, if their Generall had bene a man of any judgement in sea-fights: I knowe no reason why the English Navie should flie from him; for the Spaniarde may put all the gaine in his eye that ever he did winne from the English: Peradventure some silly novice of our countrey meeting the Generall in Spaine, and hearing a repetition of so many sillables in one name, as Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, might thinke them to be wordes of conjuration, and for feare of raysing a spirit, might flie from him as from the Devill: or some simple Indian slave hearing the like repetition of his long and tedious name, might suppose it to be an armie of Spaniards, and for feare runne away: but the commanders and captaines of the English Navie were men of such resolution, that no Spanish bragges could dismay them (for they have often met them with their Pikes in their Spanish beardes) nor the countenance of Don Bernaldino quaile them, although hee were acowtred in his gilt leather buskins, and his Toledo rapier.

The Spaniard cannot bragge of his gaine.

Spanish brags are of no value with the English.

Sixtly the Generall saith in his letter, that notwithstanding their flying away so fast, the English left them one good ship well manned, who tolde him that Drake dyed in Nombre de Dios: in which ship were one hundred and fortie men, and fifteene noble captaines of the best sort.

THe Generall Don Bernaldino, like a resolute Spaniarde having already gone over his shooes, maketh no danger to wade over his bootes also: and as he hath begunne, so hee doth conclude. I marvaile that he did not in writing his discourse remember this old saying: that is, A liar ought to have a good memorie: It were much better for him in mine opinion to revoke the testimonie which he saith he had from the Englishmen, concerning Sir Francis Drake his death at Nombre de Dios, and stand to the intelligence received from

the silly Indian slave, as it appeareth in his first lie: for without all doubt there is no English man that will say (if he have his right senses) that he dyed at Nombre de Dios, for they all knowe the contrarie: neither can the General avouch that he received intelligence from any English man, that after the death of Sir Francis Drake they did elect for Generall Colonel Quebraran (as he doth most falsely affirme in the latter ende of his vaine and frivolous letter) seeing that this name was strange & unknowen to any in the English Navie. Neither do I imagine that any of those which the Generall saith he hath taken, were so forgetfull, as not to remember their Generals name. But without all doubt this addition of so new and strange a name to the English Generall, doth proove that Don Bernaldino is not unfurnished of a forge and storehouse of lies, from whence as from an everflowing fountaine, he sendeth forth lies of al sorts sufficient for his own store, and great plentie to furnish his friends: the Generall was much beholding to his godfathers who gave him the name Bernaldino, which we in English doe take to be plaine Barnard, which name hath as it were a kinde of privilege from being sharpely reprehended, when the partie is thought to erre: for it is a common saying amongst the schoolemen that Bernardus non videt omnia, viz. Barnard seeth not all things, (when he doth dissent from their opinions) the which favour we could be content to yeeld to Bernaldino for the name sake, if he were not taken with so many manifest and impudent lies: neither doe I thinke that Sennor Bernaldino will say, that he sawe all that he hath written, be it spoken in councell for shaming the Generall: for is there any man so voide of reason as to thinke, that any Englishman being demanded of his Generals name, would write or speak Quebraran for Baskervil. So much difference there is in the sound of the sillables, as there is no affinitie at all, or likelihood of truth. But such are the Generals rare gifts, (be it spoken to

Don Bernaldino his rare gift in coyning a new and strange name.

[III. 596.]

The schoolemen of modesty doe use this kind of reprehension, when they doe thinke the author to erre.

The difference twixt Quebraran and Baskervill.

his small prayse) that we Englishmen must of force confesse, that the Generall hath given a proud onset to carrie the whetstone from Sennor Bernaldino de Mendoza: neither will the hundred and fortie men and fifteene noble Captaines (which he saith he did take, of whom he might have bene rightly informed of their Generals name) acquit him of lying forgerie, for giving the name of Quebraran to the English Generall. As for the good shippe well manned, which he saith the English left them after the fight, I am perswaded he hath no man to witnesse that lie, for the ship was separated by weather from the English fleete in the night, thirteene dayes before the fight with the Spanish Navie, and never to any mans knowledge came more in sight of the English fleete. If the Spanish ship by chance did take the saide well manned ship (as they call her) I doubt not but they have the ship, the hundred and forty men, and the fifteene noble Captaines to shew: But evermore I gesse the Spanish reckoning will fall short when it is examined, for the fifteene noble Captaines will proove, (as I take it) but three, whose losse I grieve to thinke on: Neither did the Spaniards gaine them by valour, or we loose or leave them for cowardise, as most untruely this bragging lier hath certified. But the Generall like a provident man, to make his fame and credite the greater with his Prince and countrey, taketh upon him (amongst other his miracles performed before the English fleete) by way of amplification to make small matters seeme great, as a little shooe to serve a great foote, and finding that it can hardly be brought to passe, he doth so stretch the leather with his teeth that it is readie to breake: and yet notwithstanding al this will not serve his purpose; for the printing of the letter doth marre the play, and bringeth such matter in question, as the Generall doth wish might be concealed, and were he not of so drie and cholerick a complexion, as commonly Spaniards are, he would blush for very shame in publishing so impudently

The Generall maketh great brags in taking a distressed ship which is supposed not to strike one blow.

The 15 noble Captaines contrary to the Generals lying occupation, wil prove but three.

such manifest untruthes. For sithence his meeting with the English fleete at the Ile of Pinos, there hath bene by the worthie English Generals an honourable expedition from England into the Continent of Spaine, where amongst other exploites having taken the citie of Cadiz, in the sacke thereof was found some of Don Bernaldino his printed letters: which comming to the handes of a captaine that served in Sir Francis Drakes last voyage to the West Indies, he hath thought very fit (in regard of the slanders to the English Navie contained in the saide letter) to quote the errors, that the trueth onely may appeare, to all such as have a desire to be rightly informed of such accidents as befell them in this late voyage to the West Indies: and this may suffise to shew Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda his great judgement in amplifying small matters, or of nothing to make in shewe somewhat. And now having thus farre informed you of the trueth in reproofe of the slanderous, false, and untrue reports of this glorious lying Generall, with a true disproofe to some of the grossest of his lies, I will leave him with the rest of his lying letter, and the circumstances therein contained to your censures: who in discretion may easily discerne the same: And have here following plainely and truely set downe the course and order of our whole fight after we met.

The first discovery of the Generals printed letter.

The meeting of our English Navie and the Spanish fleete, and the order of our encounter.

SUnday the first of March, according to our computation, wee descryed the Iland of Pinos, where haling in for the Westerne part thereof, thinking there to have watered, being within foure leagues off it Southerly, we sent in three of our Pinnesses to discover the harbour, and to sound afore us, about one of the clocke in the afternoone; the same day we discovered a fleete of twentie

The first discovery of the Spanish fleete. [III. 597.]

sailes, and deeming them to be the Spanish fleete, we kept our loofe to get the winde, but their Viceadmirall with divers other ships went about to cut off our Pinnesses: so that our Generall with some other of our shippes, was forced to tacke about upon the larbourd tacke, and so ranne in towardes the lande keeping the winde, so as we recovered our Pinnesses; which forced the enemies shippes to tacke about, and to take the aide of their fleete, and being come neere unto them they shot at us; we still approched, having our close fights up, our flags, ensignes and streamers displayed, our men orderly placed in each quarter, but forbare our fight untill our Generall beganne, and gave us warning to come in and fight, by shooting off a great peece, according to his former directions: so being within musket shot, the Viceadmirall of the Spanish fleete came neerest unto us, to whom our Viceadmirall John Traũghton Captaine of the Elizabeth Bonadventure gave fight, betwixt whom there was the greatest voley of small shot changed that lightly hath bene heard at Sea, which continued a long halfe houre. In which time the Spanish fleete came in to fight. Our Generall Sir Thomas Baskervill being in the Garland (whereof Humphrey Reignolds was Captaine, being the next shippe unto the Elizabeth Bonadventure) bare up to the enemie, playing with his great ordinance hotly untill he came within musket shot. Jonas Bodenham Captaine of the Defiance, and Henrie Savile Captaine of the Adventure, came likewise in to fight with them. After the Garland being within musket shot played her part, and made good fight for the space of an houre. The Defiance bare up likewise and had her turne: after came the Adventure againe within musket shot, who having changed many a great bullet with them before, renewed his fight, & continued it an houre with small shot. Then came Thomas Drake Captaine of the Hope, who last of all had his turne. Thus had all the Queenes shippes their course: The

The incounter betwixt the English and the Spanish ships.

marchants ships with other small vessels being without the Queenes ships, shot when they saw opportunitie. After the enemie finding no good to be done (being well beaten) fell from us, the Adventure playing upon them with her great ordinance, made three of the last shot at them: their Viceadmirall with divers others of their ships, were so beaten that they left off the fight, and were forced to lie in the winde, for that they durst not lie of either boord by reason of their many and great leakes, which they had received by our great shot. The Generall with the rest of their fleete tacking about, fell in our wake, thinking to get the winde, which in the beginning wee sought to hinder. But our Generall seeing that in holding the winde we should shoot our selves into the bay, gave them the winde. All that night they kept themselves upon our brode side, notwithstanding our Admiral carried his cresset-light all night, having great care of our smallest shippes. This fight continued about foure houres till it was neere night, in the which fight, thankes be to God, there were slaine so few persons of our English fleete, as I thinke the like conflict hath not bene performed with so little losse of men: What harme befell the Spaniards in their fleete I leave to your judgements. Yet our eyes can witnesse their ships were sore beaten and racked thorough, whereby there was such falling backe and lying by the lee to stoppe their leakes, as some of them were driven to haste away, and rather to runne on shore to save themselves then sinke in the Sea: besides within two houres after our fight with them, we sawe one of their great shippes on fire which burnt into the Sea, and all the sterne of another of their ships blowen up: And in the morning a shippe of our fleete was runne so neere the land, that to double the Cape de los Corrientes he must of necessitie tacke about and fall in the wake of the enemie, which caused our Generall in the Garland and the Defiance to tacke about; which two ships forced the three ships of the

The Spanish Viceadmirall can witnesse, what successe they had in this fight.

The English admirall carried his Cresset light, notwithstanding the enemie was upon his broad side.

The English received little losse in this conflict.

enemies (which were put foorth to take our shippe, or else to cause her runne on ground) to returne to their fleete to save themselves, hoysing all their sayles for haste: This morning they were faire by us having the winde of us, being but thirteen sayle of their twentie to be seene: then we stroke our toppe sayles thinking to have fought with them againe, which they perceiving tacked about from us, and after that never durst nor would come neere us: What became of the rest of their fleete wee knowe not, but true it was that they were in great distresse mightily beaten and torne, by having received many bullets from us. All this day wee had sight of them, but they shewed little will to fight or come neere us, so we keeping our course West, and by North, about sixe of the clocke at night lost the sight of them. And this is a true discourse of our fight with the Spanish fleete. The which the author hereof will justifie with the adventure of his life, against any Spaniarde serving in that action, that shall contradict the same.

The remainder of the Spanish fleete were but thirteene sayles.

HENRY SAVILE.

[III. 598.]

Thomas Baskervil knight, his approbation to the former twofold discourse of Captaine Savile.

Thomas Baskervill knight, Generall of her Majesties late Indian armada in the late conflict had betweene the Spanish fleete and us, having perused the Spanish letter written by Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda, Generall of the king of Spaines Navie, and also having perused captaine Henrie Savile his answeres unto the sixe exceptions in the Generals letter, with his discourse of the manner of our fight with the Spanish fleete, doe say that the said Henrie Savile hath answered the letter, and set downe the order of the fight sincerely according to truth, for testimonie of which I have hereunto set my hand.

And if Don Bernaldino Delgadillo de Avellaneda the Generall shall take any exceptions to this my approbation, or stand in the justification of his lying letter written to Doctor Peter Florez, President of the Contractation house for the Indies, and by him for Bernaldinos glorie lately put in print: I then say that he falsely lyed, and that I will maintaine against him with whatsoever armes he shall make choyce of. And because the kingdomes wherein we abide are enemies (by reason of which there is no meanes in either of them, to maintaine that I have written) let him make choise of any indifferent kingdome of equall distance from either realme, and I will there be readie to maintaine as much as I have written: But if by my imployments into France I be so stayed by her Majesties commandements, that I cannot out of that realme meete him in any other, I cannot see why he should take any exception to that, considering the equalitie of the place, and that the Armies of both our princes be there resident.

THOMAS BASKERVILE.

[A true

A true relation of the voyage undertaken by Sir Anthony Sherley Knight in Anno 1596. intended for the Ile of San Tomé, but performed to S. Iago, Dominica, Margarita, along the coast of Tierra firma, to the Ile of Jamaica, the bay of the Honduras, 30 leagues up Rio Dolce, and homewarde by Newfoundland. With the memorable exploytes atchieved in all this voyage.

E departed from Hampton the 23 of Aprill with nine ships and a gallie. The Bevice Admirall being 300 tunnes, the Galeon Viceadmirall being 240 tunnes. The George Rereadmirall being 160 tunnes. The Archangel being 250 tunnes. The Swanne 200 tunnes, the George Noble being 140 tunnes, the Wolfe 70 tunnes, the Mermayde 120 tunnes, the Little John 40 tunnes the Galley and a Pinnesse. All which ships we sufficiently victualled and furnished for ten monethes, with all necessaries fit for the voyage. They were also manned with souldiers and saylers, exceeding well appointed with all furniture necessarie for the intended purpose of our Generall to the full number of 900. ratably & orderly distributed into every ship. We arrived at Plimmouth the 29 of Aprill, where wee found the Right honourable Earle of Essex readie for the attempt of his Cadiz Action, with whom our Generall left three ships and 500 souldiers well victualed and furnished. So the 21 of May we departed from Plimmouth with the Bevice, the Gallion, the George, the George Noble, the Wolfe and the Galley and Pinnesse, determining our voyage for the Ile of S. Tomé. But if our whole force had remayned with us our Generals purpose was to have first sackt the Madera Ile, and

so to have proceeded for S. Tomé. The 27 of May we arrived upon the coast of Spaine, coasting all the shore, hoping to meete with some of the kings ships. From thence we past in sight of the coast of Barbary, and came to Masagant, within shot of the Fort, which our Generall reported to be an excellent fortification, where the Spaniard is in strong garrison. And bending our course for the Canarie Iles there purposing to water, our galley lost her rudder; so our Generall directed the George Noble to goe for the Ile Mogador, there to repaire the Gallies wants. Betweene which place and the Canarie Iles we tooke a fly-bote of two hundred tunnes bound for Brasill, having nothing aboord her but some small portion of victuals for their reliefe. The Captaine of this Flybote tooke upon him to be a perfect Pilot of S. Tomé, and willingly consented to stay with us, being a Fleming. Having watered at the Canaries, by the counsell of this Fleming we shaped our course for the Iles of Cape Verde, he assuring us that we should there meet the fleete of Saint Tomé, for the yeere was so farre past, that we knewe they were all departed from S. Tomé.

The Fort of Masagant.

A Flieboat taken.

The first of July we fell with the Isle Maio, where wee saw small hope of any fleete to bee expected, & therefore departed for Cape Verde, the appointed place for the George noble to meete us: where we arrived the fift of July, and there found him. And so instantly we proceeded for our voyage, because the yeere was farre spent. At this place most unfortunately our General fell exceeding sicke, and we wanting water were enforced to goe with a place named Pescadores in 10 degrees of North latitude, where we had many skirmishes with the barbarous Negros. Our Generall now hopelesse of life, and we all dismayed and comfortlesse through that his exceeding extremity, having his memory very perfit, he called all his Captaines, Masters, and officers unto him, unto whom he made a very pithie and briefe speech, tending to this purpose: That as we

[III. 599.] *The Isle of Mayo.*

were Christians and all baptised and bred up under one and the true faith, so wee should live together like Christians in the feare and service of God: And as we were the subjects of our most excellent sovereigne, and had vowed obedience unto her: so we should tend all our courses to the advancement of her dignity, and the good of our countrey, and not to enter into any base or unfit actions. And because we came for his love into this action that for his sake we would so love together as if himselfe were still living with us, and that we would follow (as our chiefe commander) him, unto whom under his hand he would give commission to succeede himselfe: all which with solemne protestation we granted to obey. Then for that the yere was past, and finding the cost of Guynea most tempestuous, hee saw in reason that the bay of Æthiopia would be our utter overthrow, and infect us all to death: whereupon he advised us to be respective of our selves, and to divert our purpose from S. Tomé, either for Brasil or the West India, yeelding many reasons that it was our best course: but we all with one voice desired to proceede for S. Tomé. And so departing from this contagious filthy place, we directed our course for S. Tomé, but could by no means double the sholds of Madrabomba, but very dangerously ran into shold water, still hoping of the best. In fine we were enforced to beare up & take some other course; for the time wasted, our men fell sicke, and the coast was contagious alwayes raging & tempestuous. The water falling from the heavens did stinke, and did in 6 houres turne into maggots where it fell either among our clothes, or in wads of Ocombe.

A most contagious & filthy place.

So by a general consent it was held to be our best course to goe for the West India; & so much the rather, because we had good pilots for that place, who undertooke more then was after performed. So we bent our course for the Isles of Cape Verde, & arriving at the Isle of S. Iago the 30 of August, we presently landed at Praia,

where we found a smal barke in the rode laden with wine and meale.

After we were departed from this vile coast of Guyny our Generall to our great comforts began to recover strength; so that being now at Praia, he was able to land with us. In our landing the people made a shew of great resistance, but we entred the towne without hindrance, being a very pretie towne, having a small fort in it, with 6 or 8 cast pieces.

The towne of Praya upon the Isle of S. Iago taken.

Being here on shore, and finding nothing left in the towne, divers of our company were very importunate with our Generall, that he would go to the citie of S. Iago being 6 miles off: through their importunitie he yeelded consent, and so we marched towards the citie with 280 souldiers. As we passed by the Negros and herdsmen, they would crie unto us Guarda S. Iago. That night we lost our way, & lay under a hedge. The next morning the Ordinance of S. Iago was shot off to give us notice where the towne was: so wee marched towards it at the breake of the day. The countrey then being all spred over with people made shew of feare only to draw us into the town: but we farther marched with our colours flying by the drumme. The gentelmen would come gallopping by us and viewing us very much. But when we came in sight of the towne, we could see no way how to get into it, but by one little path downe a very steepe hill, only man by man to go downe. The strength and situation of this towne was sufficient to have danted a man of very good courage, for it standeth between two steepe cliffes strongly housed, & three exceeding good forts commanding the whole, the chiefest and best standing upon the top of the hill right over the towne: so that from thence with muskets they command every streete, the other 2 forts standing by the waters side, all three commanding the rode, and these two every streete in the towne. Upon the front of the towne the sea beateth, the rest standeth betweene two mighty cliffes, not accessible

A description of the town of S. Iago taken by sir Francis Drake 1585.

but by one small path, by which wee were enforced to goe. Our Generall seeing himselfe thus straighted, and perceiving the drift of the Portugals was to draw him into this trench, and knowing wel that he could not returne as we came, by reason of many straights and advantageable places, with an excellent resolution (like unto himselfe) cryed out, all courage my hearts : assure your selves that the device of the Portugals shall serve our turne this day ; for they will suffer us quietly to passe downe into their supposed trappe, and then will pursue us, then [III. 600.] which nothing can happen better. The day is ours now shew your selves as I know you will : and so presently we descended into the trench. And being downe the enemy pursued with a mightie crie, and all the cliffes on both sides were beset full of men ; shot, and stones we wanted none from them on every side in great plenty ; for this naturall trench was not halfe a musket shot over. Those that attempted our Rereward by our Generals policie were so received that they made a stand, and never more came neere us. We had now halfe a mile to the towne, into the which when wee came, wee were received with the streetes full of souldiers, who joyned with us at the push of the pike. But their captaine and divers of them being slaine (feare possessing them) they fled : and our Generall pursuing with such furious speede, did so dismay them that they fled the towne, and the third of August we possessed both the lower forts.

The towne of S. Iago taken by Sir Anthony Sherley.

Being now masters of the towne, we presently by the Generals direction (whose skill, spirit, and diligence can never have sufficient commendation) baricadoed up all the streets, and brought our selves into a very convenient strength. After we had bene sixe houres in the towne the Portugals still comming in great multitudes to the upper fort, began to sally downe upon us, and to assault us at every baricado : so that in the first assault they slew and wounded eighty of our men, to our very great weakening. But they had small cause of triumph, for their losse was thrise more then ours : but they still

prosecuted their assault, not giving us time either to sleepe or eate, so that we were in exceeding extremitie; for their forces did dayly increase to the number of three thousand persons: but we dayly lost of our poore number. Whilest we were thus keeping the towne, our ships came about unto us, who received many dangerous shot from the upper castle. Our Generall finding himselfe thus streighted, & discreetely looking into the policie and strength of the enemy, and scarse able to defend any one assault more, sent to the forts and to his ships that about ten of the clocke in the darke of the night they should shoote at the upper fort with all possible diligence, and send all the boates ashore, which was accordingly perfourmed. And wee likewise keeping a tumult in the towne, the enemie supposing that our purpose was to assault the upper fort, (which God knowes was most impregnable for us) retyred from their plotted purpose for the defence thereof. So we in a souldierlike order with very good safety departed the towne, although the Portugals having espied our Generals policie came very furiously upon the backe of us, after we had kept it two dayes and two nights.

In the rode of S. Iago we tooke a ship with wine and cloth, which did greatly refresh our men. From hence we sayled to an Isle called Fuego, being a very small Isle, with a very high hill in the midst of it, which continually burneth: this Isle is invincible by nature, high cliffed round about, yet by diligent search we found a small path where wee landed our men with exceeding much difficulty, and so were masters of the Isle the eleventh of September, where wee tooke in water, but the Isle yeelded us nothing but miserable infection. One night wee had a showre of ashes which fell so thicke into our ships from that burning hill of Fuego, that you might write your name with your finger upon the upper decke. *Isla del Fuego.*

Departing from this place the twentieth of September, we shaped our course for Dominica an Isle in the

West India: but before we came thither our men fell generally downe, so that the hole could not relieve the sicke, the disease was so vile that men grew lothsome unto themselves, franticke and desperately raving, among whom our good Generals part was not the least; for his disease was vehement, the griefe of his mind, the lamentation of his men, and the losse of those whom he loved were to him torments more then durable: all which with patience and humilitie in prayer he humbled himselfe unto. But had not his mind bene invincible and his desires above the ordinary course of men, it had bene impossible that life should now have rested in him: but God (I hope) hath preserved him to some exceeding good purpose.

Dominica.

Two excellent hote bathes.

Arriving at Dominica the seventeenth of October, with all our men sicke and feeble, wee found there two hote bathes, wherein our weake men washing themselves were greatly comforted: and the Indians of this place used us with great kindnesse, so that we were all perfectly well before we departed from this place. For here we stayed untill the 25 of November. From Dominica we sayled to Margarita, betweene the Isle and the maine, thinking to meete with the perle dredgers, but wee found them not. And comming to the point of Araia in the road of Cumaná, we sawe a Flemish ship riding; the marchant and men whereof came aboord us, and brought with them my lord Admirals passe. By which meanes our General would in no sort meddle with them, yet they were very rich. Departing thence by Cape Coadera, going for Cape de la Vela at the Isle Buenaire our Fliboat was cast away, & some of the men lost, but the most part saved. Coasting all the shore from Cape de la Vela, being bound for S. Martha, we tooke a small frigat laden with Guiny corne, the eleventh of September: she had in her money to the valew of 500 pound, linnen cloth and China silke, all which our General bestowed upon his company to comfort them after their long sustained miseries: Out of which

Margarita.

[III. 601.]

ANTONIVS SCHERLEYNS ANGLVS, Eques aurat. Magni Sophi Perſarum ad Cæſarem & Chriſtianos Principes cæteros, Legatus.

ANTONI Orator Perſæ, Angliæ, regis, ad iſtud
Excelſo multus peruenis ingenio.

SIR ANTHONY SHERLEY

frigat we had 2 good pilots for those coasts: for our pilot, that promised many things before we came thither, was now absent in the Woolfe, who, we thinke, did wilfully loose us. Arriving at S. Martha, two leagues West from the towne in a faire bay, we landed the 12 of September, & so marched to the towne being often times encountred by the way, and in a narrow way at our descent downe a hill, they had placed two cast pieces of brasse, which we recovered, and so entred the towne, the enemie flying before us. While we abode in this towne, there came one Don Martin de Castilla, a gentleman of good education and a very great traveller, who knew the whole state of the West India, Malucos, & Philippinas: he had bene in China, and made many relations to our Generall, his purpose was to save the towne from burning, wherin he prevailed, but ransome I know of none we had: for this gentleman made many great protestations of great poverty to be in that place. So wee departed, onely taking their ordinance, and a prisoner lost there by sir Francis Drake, with some reliefe of victuals. Having stayed there al the time of Christmas, we departed thence on Newyeres day, with termes of great content to our General in the Spaniards great submission unto him, for they were now within a league of us with 700 souldiers. And being challenged by him to defend their towne like men of worth, they did notwithstanding intreat favour with great humilitie. Whilest we were at S. Martha, the Wolfe came againe unto us: so wee shaped our course for Jamaica, and missing the rode, were constrained to saile round about the Isle, a thing not before done. In this place the Wolfe absolutely againe forsooke us with the smal barke that we tooke at S. Iago, and returned for England with hard newes of our ruine, but by Gods favourable help wee arrived in the road of Jamaica the 29 of January, which is very dangerous to enter by reason of the sholds and rocks that lie before it. Here we landed and marched 6 miles into the countrey, where the towne standeth;

Santa Marta taken.

The Ile and chiefe towne of Jamaica taken.

the people all on horsebacke made shew of great matters, but did nothing. Now being masters of the towne and whole Isle, the people submitted themselves to our Generals mercy: and here they provided for us great store of dried beefe, and Cassavi meale, a base food, yet the best that the countrey yeeldeth, to continue at sea. This Isle is a marveilous fertil Isle, & is as a garden or store house for divers parts of the maine. It is full of plaine champion ground, which in the rest of the Indies we have not seene: it aboundeth with beeves and Cassavi, besides most pleasant fruits of divers sorts. We have not found in the Indies a more pleasant and holsome place. During the time that we remained in this Isle the captaine of the Isle came often aboord us, we having pledges for the security of their promise. They were in fine at our Generals devotion, to dispose of al things, and in all things as he pleased, so that now we were as one people & in one peace together. Being almost ready to depart, M. captaine Parker of Plimmouth came into the rode in his ships boat the second of March, with whom our Generall consorted to goe for the bay of Honduras, where by his perswasion we had great hope of a very good voyage. And departing from Jamaica the 6 of March, we sailed to Cape de Corrientes in Cuba, to looke for a barke of M. Parkers for our better strength: but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where we purposed to entrap the watch, & so to sacke the towne of Truxillo, but the watch discovering us, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding the next day being the 31 of March we brought our ships under the fort, and landed our men, but it was a vaine purpose: for the towne is not to be taken but by exceeding multitudes, for it is invincible by nature. It standeth upon the top of a very steepe hill, bordering close to the sea: so environed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage among the

trees, which if they were gone, yet there is no climbing up the hill, only having one narrow lane to go into the towne; at the end whereof is a great gate very strongly fortified, so that it is not to be approched unto, so that with the losse of some few men, we retired from this enterprise, being altogether impossible to be atchieved by our few and weake men.

Puerto de Cavallos taken.

We departed from Truxillo the second of April and went for Puerto de Cavallos lower down in the bay, stil nourishing our hope of good successe: and comming thither found it reasonably fortified, but wee presently prevailed and tooke it the 7 of April, being the most poore and miserable place of all India. Now our hopes were all frustrate and no likelihood remayning how we could by any meanes make a voyage: our General reserving unto himselfe his silent inward impatience, laboured to doe some memorable thing. And in fine concluded by Rio Dolce to search with his boats some narrow passage or Isthmos for the South sea, alleaging that if hee could but finde a boat there, it should serve him to great purpose; against which there could be no reasonable contradiction. All his chiefest sea men consented hereunto, but especially the Captaine of the Admirall. So sayling with the ships to Cape de tres puntas in the bottome of the bay, there leaving the ships well mored the tenth of Aprill [III. 602.] he departed with his boats for Rio Dolce, which in many Charts hath his passage through the land. Up this river by many uncertaine windings we passed 30 leagues and better, where we found a strong built fort, a towne, and divers store-houses: but for money or merchandize we found none. Wee learned by the miserable people that we tooke, that the South sea was 20 leagues from the nerest of that river, and that it was 50 leagues to Guatimala, 40 leagues to Sonsonate, and 30 leagues to Sacatocaluca, being townes which we hoped to march unto: so that now we were in worse case then before: for wee were fallen sicke with the

Guatimala, Sonsonate, and Sacatocaluca.

unholsomenesse of this ayre, and our victuals so wasted, as that we were desperate how to recover our countrey. *Their returne.* Whereupon with most unwilling minds we returned to our shipping, and with all possible expedition weyed, & so laboured upon the tacke to turne out of this very deepe bay, being 60 leagues within the point of land. Being out of the bay, wee shaped our course for Cape S. Anthony. Our General, whose restles spirit continually laboured to avoide the frownes of fortune, had now plotted with the Bevice and Galeon to goe for Newfoundland, and there to revictual, and to have fresh men, of which we stood in good assurance, & so to depart for the streits of Magellan, and so by his very good policie would have concluded his voyage in the East India, which plat I thinke it unnecessary here to reveale, being put in principall trust by him.

Being thwart Havana, by what chance I know not, but all his ships forsooke him the 13 of May, and here in a desperate place hee was left desperately alone. The George departed by consent with his letters, the Galeon I know not how: but our misery in the Admirall was very great, for there was not one in the ship that was ever before in the Indies, besides our miserable want of victuals, the danger of the place, and the furious current of the chanel. Notwithstanding we were enforced without stay to disemboque: which happily being performed, we shaped our course for Newfoundland. And by Gods mercy we arrived there the fifteenth of June, not having one houres victuals to spare, and there by our countreymen we were well refreshed: where we stayed till the 24 of June, still expecting the Galeon, for the execution of this his last purpose: but she not comming, and that plat overthrowen, we returned for England, where we found the right honourable the Erle of Essex bound to the seas, with whom wee presently departed in his lordships ship, to doe him our humble service.

A voyage of Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman, to Margarita, Jamaica, Truxillo, Puerto de Cavallos situate within the bay of Honduras, and taken by sir Anthony Sherley and him, as likewise up Rio dolce: with his returne from thence, and his valiant and happie enterprize upon Campeche the chiefe towne of Yucatan, which he tooke and sacked with sixe and fifty men, and brought out of the harbour a Frigat laden with the kings tribute, and surprized also the towne of Sebo.

N the yeere 1596, Master William Parker of Plimmouth gentleman being furnished with a tall shippe and a barke at his owne charges, the ship called the Prudence of one hundreth and twenty tunnes, wherein himselfe went captaine, and the barke called the Adventure of five and twentie tunnes, whereof was captain one Richard Hen, departed from the foresayd haven of Plimmouth in the moneth of November, having one hundreth men in his company.

Margarita.

The first place where wee touched in the West Indies was the Isle of Margarita on the coast of Tierra firma, where we tooke a Spanish gentleman and others, who for his ransome set at libertie Master James Willis, and five other Englishmen which were prisoners in Cumaná, who otherwise were never like to have come from thence. Thus passing from thence, wee sayled over to the Isle of Jamaica, where the second of March we met with sir Anthony Sherley, who before our comming had taken the chiefe towne in the Island, and was now almost in a readines to depart. And here consorting our selves with him, we departed from Jamaica

Sixe English men redeemed.

Truxillo assailed.

the sixt of March, and resolved to set upon the strong towne of Truxillo neere the mouth of the bay of the Honduras. And having sayled to Cape de Corrientes upon Cuba, to seeke a barke of mine for our better strength; but not finding her, we went for the cape of Honduras, where wee purposed to intrap the watch, and so to have sacked the towne of Truxillo. But the watch discovering us, made great fires, and the towne presently shot off a great piece, and answered with fires. Notwithstanding, the next day being the one and thirtieth of March, wee brought our ships under the fort, and landed our men: but it was a vaine pur-
[III. 603.] pose, for the towne is invincible by nature, and standeth upon the top of a very steepe hill joyning close to the sea, environed with woods of such exceeding thicknes, that there is no passage through the trees: there is also but one very narrow and steepe lane to goe into the towne, at the end whereof is a gate very strongly fortified: so that it is not to be approched unto, unlesse it be upon the sudden, and with surprize of the watch: wherefore with the losse of some few men wee retired from this enterprize.

Puerto de Cavallos taken.

From hence we passed up farther into the gulfe the second of April, with intention to invade the towne of Puerto de Cavallos, where wee arrived the seventh of April, and tooke the same, finding it well fortified, but nothing answering our expectation for wealth. Whereupon Sir Anthony Sherley and I being hitherto frustrate of our hopes, resolved here to enter up to the bottome of Rio dolce, and to passe overland unto the

They passe above 30. leags up Rio dolce.

South sea. Wherefore wee set forward, and entred above thirty leagues up the sayd Rio dolce, thinking to have passed overland with two companies of men, and to have caried a pinnesse in sixe quarters to be set together with skrewes, and therein to have embarked our selves in the South sea, and there for a time to have tried our fortune; and to have returned overland to the bay of Honduras. But this our diligence tooke

no effect, because of the huge highnes of the mountaines, and the length of the way, being more then was given out at the first. Then with much griefe we returned out to Truxillo, where I departed from Sir Anthony Sherley.

After my departure from this worthy knight, I set my course for Cape de Cotoche which lieth on the East part of Yucatan from whence I ranged al the North coast of the said promontory of Yucatan, untill I came unto Cape Desconoscido, where I put 56 of my men into a Periago, or long Indian Canoa; and leaving my ship sixe leagues from the towne of Campeche at three of the clocke in the morning* I landed hard by the monasterie of San Francisco, and tooke the sayd towne of Campeche, with the captaine and Alcalde, finding therein five hundreth Spaniards, and in two townes close adjoyning to the same eight thousand Indians. The multitude of the Spaniards which fled upon my first assault by ten of the clocke in the morning assembling together renued their strength, and set furiously upon me and my small company. In which assault I lost some sixe of my men, and my selfe was shot under the left brest with a bullet, which bullet lieth still in the chine of my backe. Being thus put unto our shifts wee devised on the sudden a newe stratagem: for having divers of the townesmen prisoners, we tied them arme in arme together, and placed them in stead of a baricado to defend us from the fury of the enemies shot. And so with ensigne displayed, taking with us our sixe dead men, wee retired with more safetie to the haven, where we tooke a frigat which rode ready fraught with the kings tribute in silver and other good commodities,* which were presently to bee transported to S. Juan de Ullua, and brought the same and our Periago or Canoa to my ship, which lay in two fadome water sixe leagues from the town, being not able to come any neerer for the sholds upon that coast. Over against the place where our ship rode, stoode a towne of 300 or 400 Indians called Sebo,

Cabo de Cotoche.

Cabo desconoscido.

**On Easter even 1597. The towne of Campeche taken.*

A new stratagem.

**To the value of 5000 pound.*

Sebo an Indian towne taken.

which we likewise tooke, where wee found Champechewood good to dye withall, with waxe, and hony. This done we left this coast, and turned up to Cape de Cotoche againe, and ankored every day at noone, because of the brizes, and in turning up I lost my barke called the Adventure, which was taken by 2 frigats of warre, which were manned out from Campeche: wherein Captaine Hen and thirteen of my men were taken, and afterward executed, as since we understand by some Spanish prisoners that were taken in those parts. After we had stayed five weekes on this coast, wee shaped our course for Havana, where finding nothing, we disemboqued, and came along by the Isle of Bermuda, and crossed over to The banke neere Cape Race in 22 fadomes: and from thence sayling for England, we fel with Sillie about the first of July, and within two dayes after arrived at Plimmouth, where we found the Right honorable the Erle of Essex setting forth with a great fleet for the Isles of the Azores.

An excellent ruttier for the Islands of the West Indies, and for Tierra firma, and Nueva Espanna.

IF a man depart from the barre of S. Lucar in Summer time, hee must steere Southwest until hee hath sight of Punta de Naga, which is in the Isle of Tenerif. The markes to know it be these. An high point sloping to the sea, & at the Easter point it hath two down falles like particions, and they shew to be separated from the maine of the Island & stand in 28 degrees & a halfe. And if thou wilt have sight of the Grand Canaria, and findest thy selfe with Punta de Naga, thou shalt then steere Southwest and by South, and so thou shalt have sight of Canaria which standeth in 28 degrees. [III. 604.] And thou must come to ankor on the Southeast side

of the Island. But I advise thee, if it be in winter time, that thou keepe another course, and that as followeth.

The course that a man must keepe departing in winter for the Indies from Sant Lucar.

DEparting from Sant Lucar in winter thou shalt goe West and by South keeping along the coast, because if thou goe farre from the coast, thou shalt meete with the wind off the sea untill thou be as high shot as Cape Cantin, which is a low flat cape with the sea. *Cape Cantin.* And thou shalt see a great wood before thou come at this cape, called Casa del Cavallero. *A great wood before you come at Cape Cantin.* And from thence thou shalt steere thy olde course, that is Southwest and by South for the Isles of Alegranza, and Lancerota; and when thou art North and South with Alegranza, thou shalt steere thence Southwest, and so thou shalt see the Canaria, which is a round high land, and standeth in twentie eight degrees.

What thou must doe if a contrary wind take thee fiftie leagues off the shore.

WHen thou art fifty leagues shot on thy way into the sea Southwest off, and there thou chance to meete with a contrary winde off the sea, and if it force thee to put roome, then thou shalt steere Northeast and by East, and shalt hall with sight of Cabos del Plata, which shew when thou art a seaboord so farre as thou mayest descrie them, to be like two points of white sand: and if it be cleere thou shalt see within the land certain high hilles lying Northwest and by West called las Sierras de Zahara, and being three leagues from land thou shalt have thirtie fadomes water, and sand: And from thence to the bay of Cadiz thou shalt goe along *The bay of Cadiz.* Northwest by the coast: and if thou be in thirtie or forty fadomes, thou shalt have oaze; but if thou bee in lesse then thirtie fadomes, thou shalt have other sounding; which if it chance, then thou art against S.

San Pedro. Pedro. And if it bee by day thou shalt see the Ermi-
San Sebastian. tage of Sant Sebastian, which seemeth to be a shippe under sayle. And thou shalt goe into the bay taking
Los Puercos. heede of the Puercos, give them a good birth off. And if thou chance to bee benighted when thou fallest with the bay, and wouldest goe into the bay, thou shalt carie thy lead in thy hand, and be sounding: and finding thy selfe in rockie ground, thou shalt steere North because of shunning the Puercos: and yet give them not
The Diamant. too great a birth because of The Diamant, and so thou mayest goe in, sounding when thou thinkest good. And being benighted and then not East and West with the bay, and if thou doest not goe into it, then make the largest boord thou canst keeping off till day.

The Canaries. If thou be at the Canaries and wouldest sayle to Nueva Espanna, thou shalt sayle foure and twenty houres South because of the calmes of Fierro. And from thence thou shalt goe Westsouthwest, untill thou finde thy selfe in twenty degrees. And then thou must goe West and
The Isle Deseada in the West Indies standeth in 15 degrees of latitude. by South, which is the course for the Isle Deseada. And from Deseada thou shalt goe West and by North, because of the variation of the compasse. And falling with Deseada, thou shalt finde it to rise low with the sea: and it standeth in 15 degrees. And the eastermost part is the sharpest, and smaller then the West point.

And if thou art going for Tierra firma, thou shalt goe West and by South untill thou come to Dominica, and there on the Northwest side is a river, where thou
Markes to know Dominica by. mayest water. The marks to know it bee a certaine high land full of hilles. And seeing it when thou art farre off to the seaward, it maketh in the middest a partition; so that a man would thinke it devided the Island in two parts. And this Island standeth in 14 degrees and a halfe.

I advise thee that if thou wouldest goe for Nueva
Guadalupe. Espanna, and so doest passe betweene Guadalupe and
Monserate. Monserate to the Westward, that being thus open off the entrance betwixt them thou shalt go Westnorthwest,

and so shalt have sight of Santa Cruz, which standeth in seventeene degrees and a halfe. And the markes to know it be these. It is an Island not very high, and lyeth East and West, and at the East end it is lower then at the West end. *Santa Cruz.*

And going forward on thy course thou shalt runne Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe to have sight of the Isle of San Juan de Puerto rico, which is an Island lying East and West, and standeth in eighteene degrees. And the markes be these. That on the West end it is lowest, and the Eastermost is the highest. And if thou fall with the middest of the Island, then thou shalt goe a long it to the West unto Cabo Roxo, which is the end of the Isle. And from thence the coast runneth North to Punta Aguada. Cape Roxo hath certaine red cliffes. Thou must steere West and by South from Cape Roxo to find Mona, and so thou shalt have sight of Mona. And the marks thereof be these, it is a low land lying East and West: and on the East end it is highest, it hath a slope towards the sea, and standeth in 18. degrees, rather lesse then more. And if it be by day, then thou shalt runne West and shalt see Saona: which is an Island lying without Hispaniola, and lyeth East and West, and is full of trees; and hath certaine sandy bayes. And if it bee cleere weather thou shalt see within the land of Hispaniola certaine hie hils called las Sierras de Yguey. And being benighted upon Mona, then thou shalt steere West and by South, because of certaine shoalds that lye off Saona: but having day light and no sight of land, thou shalt loofe up Northwest and so passe by it, and as thou goest along the coast of Hispaniola, and seest the sea to be cast up into the aire, then thou shalt be about 10 leagues off the harbour of Santo Domingo, and these mountings up are called The Spoutes. *S. Juan de Puerto rico.* *Cape Roxo.* [III. 605.] *Mona.* *Saona.* *Las Sierras de Yguey.* *Los Bufladeros or The spoutes.*

But I advise thee, that if thou bee benighted when thou fallest with Santo Domingo, then thou must keepe the hils called Sierras de las minas viejas to the North- *Santo Domingo.*

west. And if thou wouldest goe into Santo Domingo, and meetest there with a forcible Northerly wind, then the best way is to runne East till it be day. And having daylight thou shalt cast about, and so thou must ply to wind-ward untill the Northerly wind be done: and when it is past, make all the saile thou canst to hale with the sight of Calle de las Damas: and when thou hast sight thereof thou shalt lye with thy stemme with a sandie Bay, which lyeth on the other side: and thou must take in thy maine saile, and go so till thou bring thy selfe open with the midst of the river; and so having opened the river, thou must go with great care in the middest of the same, with all thy sailes up, except thy maine saile, and thou must have thy boat out, if it be needefull to sound or to tow thy ship, if she cast too much to the loofe, for the currents will cast here to the loofe: wherefore bee sure to have thy boat out to helpe thy steerage: and this is the way whereby thou must worke.

Calle de las Damas.

The course from Santo Domingo to go for Nueva Espanna.

I Advise thee that if thou wilt goe from Santo Domingo for Nueva Espanna, thou shalt goe South-west and by South, and so thou shalt have sight of Punta de Nizao, which is a low point, and is the end of the hilles called Sierras de las minas Viejas, and towards the Northwest of them thou shalt see a lowe land, and to goe into Hocoa thou shalt stirre from this poynt of Nizao Westnorthwest, and thou shalt see the point of Puerto Hermoso, and the Bay that it maketh: and thou must be sure to keepe neere the shore to find a good road, and feare not to go neere the land: for all is deepe water, and cleare ground, and let not fall thine anker til thou be past all the rivers; and beware of the land, for if thou ride much without, thy anker wil come home, because it is rocky and flatte ground. And thou must be ready, that when thine anker commeth home,

Punta de Nizao.

Hocoa.

Puerto Hermoso.

thou have thy moarings readie in thy boat to carry on shore with foure or five men, and if thou thinke good, thou mayest let them fall on land with a rope. And when thou art come to anker thou mayest send on shore to moare, so shalt thou be best moared.

The course from Hocoa to Nueva Espanna.

GOing from Hocoa to Nueva Espanna thou shalt stirre Southwest: and this way thou shalt find the Isles Beata, and Alto velo: Beata hath these marks: It is a low land with the sea, and full of trees: and on the East side an high land or cliffe; and Alto velo hath these markes. A blacke round land, and the Eastermost part thereof is highest, and it hath a downefall. When thou art North and South with * then thou shalt go West, untill thou be so farre shot as the Frailes: and from thence goe West and by North, and keeping this course thou shalt have sight of Cape Tiburon. And if by keeping this course thou have sight of a little Island, thou mayest make account it is the Isle of Baque: and it is hard to the land, and from thence thou shalt go West, keeping thy selfe out untill thou double a poynt that maketh as it were a great Bay, and then thou must go West and by North, till thou come to Cape Tiburon, that hath a round blacke land, and in some part thereof certaine white cliffes.

Beata, and the marks therof.

Alto velo, and the marks thereof.

Frailes.

The Isle of Baque.

Cape de Tiburon.

I advise thee that when thou art against Cape de Tiburon, thou stirre Northwest, and so thou shalt have sight of Cuba, which lyeth East and West: and thou shalt see certaine hilles which are called Sierras del Cobre, and in the highest of them is the harbour of S. Iago de Cuba: and finding thy selfe so, thou mayest runne West unto Cape de Cruz. And before thou seest Cape de Cruz thou shalt see the hils called Sierras de Tarquino, and from these hils to Cape de Cruz the land waxeth lower and lower, and it is lowest of all at the Cape it selfe. And if thou chance to have the water troubled, as though thy ship did raise up the sand from the

Cuba.

S. Iago de Cuba.

Sierras de Tarquino.

[III. 606.]

The nine fathoms.

ground, be not afraid: for this place is called The nine fathoms: for thou shalt find no lesse water upon it, and it is the shallowest water that thou shalt have.

Cape de Cruz in 19. deg. and better.

Thou must marke that Cape de Cruz maketh an ende of the coast that commeth from the East to the West, and beginneth the course that goeth North and South, and standeth in 19. degrees, rather more then lesse.

From Cape de Cruz thou must stirre Westnorthwest: and this way thou shalt have sight of the Isle de Pinos, and if thou have faire weather, then thou must goe Northwest, and by West, because of the currents that will set thee out to sea. And keeping this course thou shalt have sight of an high land. I tell thee it is the marke of the Isles called los Jardines, and is commonly called the land of Zagueio: and then thou shalt goe West and by South: and if it bee by night, then goe Westsouthwest untill thou have brought thy selfe out from The Jardines. And being by day thou shalt keepe off the land, and shalt goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt see the Isle de Pinos.

Los Jardines.

The Isle de Pinos.

The markes to know the Cape de Santo Antonio.

THe headland called Capo de Santo Antonio is a lowe land, and full of trees, and upon the Cape it selfe it hath two or three thicke woods, and the coast lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And thou must also take good heed that thou have sight on the same coast of a white sandie Bay; and it is on the same coast that lyeth Northwest and Southeast. And these be the markes from Punta de las Arenas, or The poynt of the sands, to the Cape of Saint Anthonie, and from the Cape de Corrientes to Punta de las Arenas thou shalt have a great Bay, being so long, that if thou be not very neere the shore thou canst not see land, it is so low. And if thou see not the land well, it will shew to be a tuft of trees. And the Cape of S. Anthony standeth in 22. degrees.

Cape de Corrientes. Cape de Sant Anton in 22. degrees.

A ruttier that a man must keepe from Dominica to Martinino, and so to Tierra firma.

I Advise thee that going from Martinino or Dominica, if thou wouldest goe for Margarita, that thou stirre South and by West, because of the great currents that goe here, and set Northwest. And by this course thou shalt find the Testigos, which be 4 or 5 Islands: and *The Testigos.* if thou wilt not goe so much to windward, then thou shalt see Frailes, which bee three small Islands. And *Frailes.* if thou wilt goe into the harbour of Manpater, it is presently in doubling of the point on the East side to the Southward. And being minded to go for puerto de *Puerto de Juan Griego.* Juan Griego, which lieth on the Northside, then go neere the land, and along the coast of the West, and presently thou shalt have sight of puerto de Juan Griego; it standeth in 11. degrees.

I advise thee that going from Matalino, which standeth in 13. degrees, if thou wouldest goe to Cartagena, thou shalt goe West and by South, and by this way thou shalt have sight of the Isles of Curazao and Aruba, *Curazao. Aruba.* which stand in 12. degrees: from these Islands thou shalt go West; and when thou art North and South with Monjes, thou shalt see them to be three little *Monjes three litle Islands.* white Ilands, and they are white because of the multitude of birds that are there: they stand in a triangle. From thence thou shalt goe West, if it be by day, and so shalt have sight of Coquebacoa that standeth in 12. *Coquebacoa.* degrees. And being by night, then goe Northwest: and by day thou shalt cast to goe for the land againe West-southwest. Coquebacoa hath a certaine poynt not very high, and within this poynt thou shalt see in the inland certain hilles which bee called las Sierras de Avite.

Going from this poynt of Coquebacoa thou shalt run West, and shalt run along the coast, and shalt go to have the sight of Baya honda and Portete, which is a low *Baia honda. Portete.* land even with the sea.

Cape de la vela.

The Cape de la Vela lieth with a redde shewe not very high; and without this Cape about a league there is a little coppled rocke. A man may be bold to go betwixt this rocke and the maine.

And going from this Cape to have sight of Cape del Aguja thou must stirre Southwest, and thou shalt have sight of the Ancones which lye at the ende of the hilles called Sierras Nevadas. And then presently thou shalt see the Cape del Aguja: the marks whereof are these: It is a low Cape, and upon it is a copple not very high, and there beginneth the high land of the Sierras Nevadas, or snowy mountaines.

Cape del Aguja.

Take this for a warning that if thou goe for Cape de la Vela by night by the course abovesayd, and commest into a whitish water, then sound and thou shalt find 40. fathoms, and thy sound will be certaine smal sandy white oaze, and some smal weeds. And then thou mayest make account that thou art North and South with the river called Rio de Palominos, which commeth out of the midst of the Sierras Nevadas. And being benighted thou shalt go Westnorthwest, or West and by North until day: and being day then thou mayest hale in with sight of the land Southwest, because thou mayest be sure to come right in with it.

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Rio de Palominos.

If thou goe from Cape del Aguja for Cartagena, if it bee by day, thou shalt goe West and by South, and shalt goe to have sight of Morro Hermoso, that is The faire mountaine, which lyeth to the Westward of Rio grande. And being alone, and with a good ship of saile, and drawing towards night, then thou must come to anker behind Morro hermoso: and after the first watch thou must set saile, and go out West and by North, because thou must be sure to keep a seaboord from the Island de Arenas, which lyeth 2 leagues to seaward right against Samba.

Morro hermoso.
Rio grande.

Isla de Arenas.
Samba or Zamba.

And if thou goe from Cape del Aguja by night, thou shalt goe West and by North: and so thou shalt goe without the force of the water of Rio Grande. And

being by day thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see Morro hermoso, which, as I have sayd, lyeth to the West of Rio Grande, and hath for markes, a face of a blacke land not very hie, and it is round. And if thou depart by day from Morro hermoso, thou must goe West, and must take heede, as I sayde before, of the Isle de Arenas, which lyeth North and South of Samba. Samba hath for a marke as it were a gallie towed. And going this way by day, thou shalt see El buio del Gato, which is an high land with certaine white cliffes to the seaward : and also more to the West thou shalt see the poynt called Punta de la Canoa, which is a low land even with the water : and there endeth the coast which lyeth East and West. And the Bay that goeth to Cartagena beginneth here, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

El Buio del Gato.

Punta de la canoa.

Cartagena.

And take this for a warning, that if thou be benighted against Samba, thou shalt take in thy sailes, & lye off to the offward until midnight without any saile abroad until midnight : and from midnight forward thou shalt lye so into the land without sayle : and if in the breake of day thou see no land, then goe Southwest, and if this way thou have sight of certaine white cliffes, make account it is Buio del Gato. Take this for a warning, if thy ship bee great come not nigh the land in the Bay : I meane thou mayest not with a great ship come nigh the land from the poynt de la Canoa untill thou come to Cartagena, because in many places there are not above 3 or 4 fathoms at the most. In all this Bay there is no hie land but the Gallie, which is right over the harbour of Cartagena.

And if it chance that any man come for this place that never was here before, then let him looke for a little hill like a towed gallie lying East and West, and all the land is low, and seemeth to be full of trees. Having these sights, then make account thou art against Cartagena, and to goe in thou hast nothing to be afraid of : but keepe thyselfe hard aboord the poynt of Ycacos : and then when thou commest to double the

The land marks of Cartagena.

The poynt of Ycacos.

poynt del Judeo, give a breadth off, because there is a shoald.

A shoald.

A shoald halfe a league to the sea.

I advise thee that if thou be benighted, when thou art at The poynt de la canoa, and wouldest enter into Cartagena by night, that thou take good heede of a shoald that lyeth halfe a league to the sea, and so thou shalt goe in 8 fathoms, and sandie ground. And when thou findest thy selfe in deepe water, as in 30 fathoms and more, then the harbour will bee open before thee. And if thou have any fresh Northerne winds, then loofe up to the seaward, and lye with thy stemme Eastsouth-east, and so thou mayest goe in East through the middest of the chanell: and though it bee by night, yet thou mayest goe in safely, because it is all cleere. And if the night be cleere thou shalt have sight of the Island called Cares, and it is an high land.

The Isle of Cares.

Comming from Cartagena to goe for Nombre de Dios in the time of the Northerne winds, thou must bring thy selfe to the offward of Sal medina: and thence stirre West till thou bring thy selfe North and South with Cabeza de Cativa; and then goe Southwest and by West, and thou shalt so fall with Rio de Francisco. It hath for markes a certaine land not very high, and within the land certaine high hils lying East and West. And on the West of the river of Francisco thou shalt see certaine cliffes that bee sixe leagues from Nombre de Dios, inclining toward the sea.

Sal Medina.

Cabeza de Cativa.

Rio de Francisco.

I advise thee that going this course above written; if thou see 3 or 4 Isles lying lowe with the sea, and also lying East and West, thou mayest make account that they be the Islands de Cativa, and then runne West, and so thou shalt go along the coast. And if thou see by this way a poynt of low land, make account it is Punta de Samblas: and upon it thou shalt see a row of hie rockie hils, and they be the mountaines of Santa Cruz.

The Isles of Cativa.

Punta de Samblas.

Sierras de Santa Cruz.

If thou come from Cartagena to go to Nombre de Dios in the time of the sea winds, when thou art out from Sal Medina, thou shalt goe West and by North, that thou

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mayest have sea-roome, and take the Brisas or Northerne winds when they come: and goe till thou be North and South with the harbour of Nombre de Dios: and from thence goe Southwest, and if by this way thou see a row of high hils on a coast that lyeth Northeast and Southwest, make account they are Sierras de las minas Viejas, which minas Viejas lie North and South with the harbour of Velo alto. Having kept this course abovesaid, and having sight of the former marke, thou mayest account that thou art on the West side of Nombre de Dios.

Sierras de las minas viejas.

Puerto de velo alto.

Nombre de Dios.

Furthermore when thou hast sight of an high land, and thou bee North and South with it, and in the toppe thereof thou seest as it were a litle table, if it be highest toward the East, then make account that thou art North and South with Nombre de Dios, I say, with the harbour of Nombre de Dios, and this hill is called Sierra de Capira. And if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must keepe thy prow right against this hill, and comming neerer to the shore, thou shalt see a ledge of rockes, and it is without, and thou mayest goe in what depth thou thinkest good, or at which place thou findest most water in. And to the West of the harbor thou shalt see two or three Islands called Islas de los Bastimentos.

Sierra de Capira.

A ledge of rocks.

Isla de los Bastimentos.

Take this for a warning, if thou come out of Nombre de Dios in the time of the Brisas or Northerne winds, and wouldest goe for Cartagena, thou shalt come out in the morning, and shalt go Northnorthwest untill 3 of the clocke at afternoone, and then cast about to the land, untill thou be hard aboord the shore, and so thou must go turning untill thou hast doubled Cabeza de Cativa: and having doubled it then ply to windward all that thou mayest: and if thou be Eastnortheast off it, then thou shalt have sight of the Ilands of Baru, which are 3 or 4 Islands lying low, and are all full of trees: and then presently thou shalt have sight of the gallie that is over Cartagena, and it is like a gallie towed.

The course to goe back from Nombre de Dios to Cartagena.

Islas de Baru.

I advise thee, that if thou come for Cartagena in the

time abovesayde, and commest from Cabeza de Cativa, if the wind will not suffer thee to lye but West, then going thus if thou seest a great high Island full of mountaines, and on the North side thereof thou see a ledge of rocks two leagues into the sea, thou mayest be sure it is Isla fuerte: but if thou see not the rocks, give them a good breadth: and if thou wilt come to anker, thou mayest ride well on the West side of them, betwixt the maine and them in fifteene fathomes; and the sounding is clay. And if thou wilt go betweene this and the Islands of Saint Barnardo to goe into Cartagena, thou mayest goe safely. And if any man aske thee how thou knowest the Islands of Baru and San Barnardo, thou mayest answere truely, that the Isles of San Barnardo are full of high hilles, and certaine sandie bayes to seaward; and the sayd Isles have a good depth two or three leagues to the sea: and this depth is called the Bacilla. And these are all the markes for the Islandes of San Barnardo. And touching the Isles of Baru, they bee 3 or 4 little Islands and very even with the sea, and full of trees, and there is no good depth about them, but hard aboord them.

Isla fuerte. A ledge of rocks.

Islas de San Barnardo.

La Bacilla.

A ruttier from Cartagena to Havana in Cuba.

COmming from Cartagena to goe to Havana, thou must goe Northnorthwest untill thou be in foureteene degrees: and then forwardes thou shalt goe with great care to anker every night, and when it is day set sayle. And this is to bee done in this place because of the shoalds of Serrana: and so thou mayest proceede with a care to anker when thou commest about Seranilla, or neere to it, which is in fifteene degrees and a halfe. And upon it thou shalt see a lowe flatte land lying Northeast and Southwest: and the sea beateth upon it round about, except that on the Southeast part it hath certaine shelves of sand, and on the West side it hath a certain litle copple, which from sea seemeth to bee a shippe under sayle: and

The shoalds of Serrana.

Seranilla.

being Northeast and Southwest off it, scant a league from the shoald commeth out on the West side a certayne shoald, whereupon the sea doth alwayes beate.

I advise thee that if thou canst not passe on the West side, then thou must goe betwixt the sayd little copple that it is like a sayle and the shoald: for the passage is good. But if thou depart from the Serranilla to the Northwest, and seest a lowe land with the sea, and certaine white sandy bayes, and on the West side seest a low land, and on the Eastside a little coast lying East and West, thou mayest make account it is Cape de Corrientes. *Cape de Corrientes.*

And if thou goe from Cape de Corrientes for Cape de Santo Antonio, thou must goe Westnorthwest, and so thou shalt goe with the Cape. The marks be a low land full of trees with certaine white sandie bayes: and upon the Cape it selfe thou shalt see two thicke groves of great trees, and they be upon the Cape it selfe. *Cape de San Antonio.*

To go from the Cape de Sant Antonio for Havana in the time of the North winds, thou shalt goe Northwest untill thou be cleere of all the shoalds of the Cape, and then hale thy bowlines, and go as neere the wind as thou canst possibly, untill thou bring thy selfe unto 24. degrees, and there sound, and thou shalt find it the Tortugas, and thy sounding will be white sand. [III. 609.] *The Tortugas.*

Thou must take heede what is said in the Chapter before: for he that writ the same hath seene it, and bene witnesse to this: that comming from Seranilla, and stirring North and by East he had sight of an Island standing in 16. degrees, and it is on the shoalds of Cape de Camaron. And from thence, if thou have the wind large, goe Northeast and by East, because of the variation of the compasse, and thou shalt make thy way Eastnortheast, and thou shalt fall with Isla de Pinos. This I say, because the currents set sometime West: and so it fell out to bee true in March, Anno Domini 1582. I tell thee farther, that wee came out from this aforesayd Isle stirring North *Seranilla.* *An Island in 16. degrees.* *Baxos de Cabo de Camaron.* *The variation of the compasse.* *Isla de Pinos.* *The currents set here sometimes West.*

and by East, for the wind would not suffer us to lye neerer the East, and one evening at Sunne going downe we fell with a land, that had the same markes to our judgement with the Cape de Corrientes: and because night was at hand, we wrought to double Cape de Sant Antonio, stirring West: and about midnight we had land all high right a head, & the coast lying Southwest: and then we cast and lay Northeast till day: And being day, wee saw the land all a head, and we plied to windward to the East, and kept it a larboord till we had brought it Southwest. And to be short, we went here on land in the same place that we first fell with in the evening before: and it was an Island called Cozumel, lying on the coast of Yucatan. And this Island was the land which we saw first, seeming by the marks to be the Cape de Corrientes. Wee came to an anker about the middest of the Island, rather to the Norther then the Souther part: there we found a towne of Indians, who gave us all things which we needed for our money: and wee carried our Astrolabs on shore and tooke the height in 19. degrees and one tierce. A man may goe betweene this Island and the coast of Yucatan, and the Cape de Catoche at pleasure Northeast; and the water wil set in thy favour: and thou must go till thou be in 24. degrees, and so thou shalt have the sounding of the Tortugas.

Isla de Cozumel.

The latitude of Cozumel in 19. deg. and one tierce.

Las Tortugas.

The course to be kept from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueva Espanna.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio for Nueva Espanna, and beeing late, thou shalt stirre Westnorthwest till thou be in the height of 24. degrees: and from thence thou shalt stirre something to the West, until thou bring thy selfe North and South with the litle Iland called Vermeja: and when thou art so, thou shalt go Southwest, & by this way thou shalt find Villa Rica, which is in 19 degrees & a halfe, and the signes be these. Thou shalt find a

The little Isle called Vermeja. Marks of Villa Rica.

ledge of high hils lying Northeast and Southwest. But if thou chance to fall with a coast that lyeth North and South, then thou mayest account, that it is about the low ground of Almeria which hath these markes. It is a land not very high, and it is full of little copples. And if thou have cleare weather, thou shalt see within the land certaine high hils which are called the hils of Papalo.

The low ground of Almeria.

Las Sierras de Papalo.

And I advise thee that beeing so farre shotte as the poynt called Punta delgada, which is the ende of all those hilles of Villa Rica, thou mayest stirre thence South and by West, and thou shalt goe along the coast, and shalt see a lowe land, and with this land thou shalt fall, going for Saint Paul, and being so farre shotte as Saint Paul, if thou wilt goe into the harbour, thou must stirre Southwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe being shotte into the Bay. And thou shalt goe along the coast of the lowe land in sight thereof: and keeping this course thou shalt see on the other side a blacke hill, and it is called Monte de Carneros. Take this for a note, that it lyeth over the house of Buytron: and as thou doest come neerer to the poynt of rockes, thou must bee sure to keepe thy lead going, and shalt have foure fathomes and a halfe or five fathomes, and so thou mayest goe through the middest of the chanell. And comming against the castle, thou shalt give it some breadth off towards the Arrecife or rocke: and having doubled the castle, thou shalt goe from thence and shalt bring thy selfe to an anker hard by the Herreria, which is a cleane Bay, and thou shalt ride against the hospitall.

Saint Paul.

Monte de Carneros.

Casa de Buytron.

The castle of S. Juan de Ullua.

The hospitall.

I advise thee that if thou be benighted when thou art neere to S. Paul, and meetest with a Northerly wind after midnight, that then thy best way is to bring thy selfe into thy coarses, and lye by, plying to windward, and to seaward in 20. fathomes which depth thou shalt have neere the shore, to the Northward: and being day, then goe in with the harbour as thou canst best, observing what is abovesaid.

And I advise thee that if thou come from Villa Rica, and findest thy selfe in 20. degrees and a halfe, and seest no land, and seest that the water doth alter, [III. 610.] thou shalt sound 60. fathomes water: and if in this depth thou hast oaze, make account thou art East *The river of Almeria.* and West with the river of Almeria. This course is from the Cape of Santo Antonio to Nueva Espanna without or aseaboord the Alacranes or Scorpions.

Now followeth how to worke, if a man come betwixt the Alacranes and the maine.

IF thou goe from the Cape de Santo Antonio and wouldest goe for Nueva Espanna within the *Alacranes or Scorpions.* Alacranes, thou must stirre West and by South, and by this way thou shalt bring thy selfe in 20. fathoms; and if thou keeping this course findest lesse water, then go West and by North, and that way thou shalt bring thy selfe into 20. fathomes againe, untill thou have brought thy selfe North and South with the *The triangle.* triangle. And being North and South with the triangle, *Surta or Zarza.* then thou shalt be also North and South with Surta: from thence thou shalt go Southwest: and by this *The high hils of S. Martin.* course thou shalt have sight of the high hils of S. Martin, which are certaine high hils lying Northwest and Southeast, and they have a partition in the midst, and to the Northwest they be highest: and on the Southeast part within the land, thou shalt see something an high land, called Pan de Minsapa, that is, the loafe of Minsapa, which is a round loafe not very high.

The hils of S. Martin stand in 18. degrees lesse one fift part.

I advise thee that when thou fallest with Saint Martin, and wouldest go with Saint John de Ullua, then thou shalt goe Westnorthwest: and this is the course that thou must keepe, if thou bee farre off at sea, I meane so farre off as thou mayest well descrie the hils of S. Martin.

But if thou be neere to the land, then thou must goe Northwest and by West, and thou shalt so come along the coast, and thou shalt find the coast to bee low land: and comming this course thou shalt have sight of certaine little hilles not very high: then thou shalt fall with the poynt called Punta de Antoni Serro: and these hilles lye over the river of Medelin. And *Rio de Medelin.* if when thou art East and West, with The Volcan or hill that casteth out fire, any man doe aske thee, where the harbour of Sant Juan de Ullua is, thou mayest truely answere, West and by South, and it standeth in 18. degrees and a halfe. *S. Juan de Ullua in 18. deg. and a halfe.*

The course to be kept from Nueva Espanna to the maine of Spaine in Europe.

COmming from S. Juan de Ullua to goe for Spaine, thou shalt stirre Northeast untill thou be in 24. degrees: and so beeing thou shalt goe East untill thou bring thy selfe in the soundings of the Tortugas, and thy ground *The Tortugas.* wil be white sand. I advise thee, that if it be by night, thou goe East; and finding the water to waxe shoalder, then goe Southwest, with a care to keepe thy lead going, untill thou loose ground, and come into great depth, because thou mayest fall to the North of the Tortugas. And going from this sound for Havana thou must stirre Southsoutheast, because of the currents that carrie *The currents to the East.* thee to the East. And if by this way thou have sight of an hie land, that seemeth to be like a loafe, make account it is the loafe of Cabanas. And to the East *Pan de Cabanas.* of this loafe thou shalt see a land that hath a plaine. It sheweth to be low, even with the sea, and as smooth as the sea: and from this land to the East the land is lower and lower. And from thence to Havana thou *Havana.* must goe East. And if the wind will not let thee go that course, thou must turne up till thou be upon the harbour of Havana.

The marks of the poynt of Havana be these, that on the East side it hath an hie blacke land, which is sloping

to the sea, with a litle white tower on the top thereof: and as thou goest into the port, thou must keepe neere the high blacke land, and when thou art hard to it, strike thy toppe sayles in signe of peace to the castle, least it shoote at thee.

What course the Spaniards keepe from Havana to Spaine.

IF from Havana thou wouldest set thy course for Spaine, thou must goe Northeast, and shalt so have *Los Martyres.* sight of the Martyres, which stand in 24. degrees and a halfe. And the coast lieth East and West. The marks be these, it sheweth like heads of trees, and in some places certaine rocks with white sandy bayes. And if the wind be large, thou mayest go East and by South untill thou see the coast to lye Northeast and Southwest: and if the wind be scant, then go turning up: and take good heed that every evening at Sunne going downe thou have sight of the land, and so thou must do being in the chanell, untill thou bring thy selfe [III. 611.] into the middest of the chanell: and thou must lye off from the going downe of the sunne, untill the ende of the first watch with thy coarses alone, without any more sayle; and from midnight forwards cast about, and lye the other way with the like sayle untill day: and thus thou must doe untill thou bring thy selfe into the chanel. And if being in the Chanel thou finde the winde large, thou shalt stirre Northeast, with a care to *The sholds of Mimbres, that is, of Osiars.* goe cleane off the sholds of the Mimbres or the Osiars. And if being in the Chanel thou meete with the wind at North, then thou must turne with a litle saile 4. glasses one way, and 4. another, as thou thinkest good. And if thou canst not beare sayle, then thou mayest goe with all thy sayles downe, except when thou wouldest cast about, thou mayest loose some small sayle to winde thy ship.

The chanell reacheth to 28. degrees. I advise thee, that when thou art come out of the Chanel, thou shalt be in 28. degrees. And if it be

in summer, thou shalt goe Northeast untill thou be in 39. degrees and ½, which is the height of Flores: and thou shalt goe to the Northward of Bermuda. And if thou thinke good to go in more degrees, to have the seawinds, thou shalt goe by the same height, as I have sayd: and if thou shalt finde the winde off the sea, thou hast no neede to goe in more heights: and from thence thou shalt goe East and by South: and thou must goe thus because of the variation of the Compasse. And thus thou shalt find the isles of Flores and Cuervo, which stand in 39. degrees ½, and in 40. large. These markes be these.*

La Bermuda.

The variation of the Compasse.

Thou mayest goe from betwixt Flores and Cuervo, and must goe East Southeast, and so thou shalt have sight of the Island of Sayles, which is the Island of S. George. And beeing at the land thou shalt goe along it, and when thou hast doubled a certaine litle Headland that lyeth in the East poynt, then thou shalt stirre East and by North, and East. And thus going, thou shalt have sight of Terzera, which is in 39. degrees. The markes bee these.* And behinde a certaine blacke land something high, which is called el Brasil, standeth the Citie called Angra. Going from Terzera, thou shalt runne East Northeast, untill thou bring thy selfe Northwest, and Southeast with the Cape of Saint Vincent. And thou mayest worke thus being in summer: for alwayes thou shalt have the windes at Northwest. And beeing Northwest and Southeast with this Cape, thou shalt stirre Southeast and by East, and thou shalt so fall with the land 6. or 7. leagues to the windward off the Cape on the coast, which lyeth North and South: then thou shalt goe along the coast to the South, untill thou see the Cape. And the Cape standeth in 37. degrees: the markes be these. It is a Cape not very hie, and is blacke, sloping to the sea. And from thence thou shalt double the Asagresal Southeast: and so running, thou shalt then goe East unto the Cape of S. Mary: and from this Cape goe East Northeast, and so thou shalt

Flores and Cuervo.

Saint George.

Terzera.

The Cape of S. Vincent.

The windes are alwayes at Northwest in the summer.

The markes of Cape S. Vincent.

The Asagresal.

The Cape of Saint Mary.

runne to have sight of Arenas Gordas: and then thou shalt see presently a little hill towardes the East which is called Cabeza de Pedro Garcia. And if thou be benighted, and comming into 8. or 9. fathoms, then I wish thee to come to anchor, untill it be day, and then call for a Pilote, that may by some meanes carie thee into harbour.

The course in winter from the chanel of Bahama.

I advise thee, if in the Winter time thou bee shot out of the narrowest of the Chanel of Bahama, and wouldest goe for Spaine, that thou must goe East Northeast, untill thou be in 30. degrees rather lesse then more; and then thou mayest goe East and by South, because of the variation of the Compasse. And stirring hence East Southeast, thou shalt goe on the Southside of Bermuda: and must goe with great care, because many have bene lost heere about this Island, because of their negligence. And when thou art sure thou art past this Island, then goe East Northeast, untill thou bee in the height of seven and thirtie degrees: which is in the height of the Island of Saint Marie. And going thus, and not seeing Land, but seeing the Sea to breake, make account it is the rocks called las Hormigas. And if thou thinke good to goe to Faial, thou shalt goe till thou be in 38. degrees ½ scant, and then thou shalt goe East, and so shalt have sight of Faial. The markes of it be these.*

The variation of the Compasse.

Many lost upon Bermuda by negligence.

The Isle of S. Marie.

Faial.

Comming out from Faial, and leaving all the Islandes, then all goe East and by South untill thou bring thy selfe in 37. degrees, which is the height of Cape Saint Vincent: and then goe East, and thou shalt see the Cape having the markes aforesayd. And from Cape S. Vincent thou must goe East Southeast, till thou be Northeast, and Southwest, with the barre of S. Lucar: and then goe Northeast for the Barre.

The barre of S. Lucar.

Take this for a warning, that if going in 37. degrees thou have not sight of Cape S. Vincent, and hast sight of certaine hie hils, make accompt they are Sierras de Monchico.

Sierras de Monchico.

I advise thee, that if thou stand in feare of men of warre about the Cape of S. Vincent, then goe in 36 degrees $\frac{1}{3}$. And finding thy selfe within the Cape, if thou see many signes of greene weedes, then cast about to the North Northeast, and by this way finding land, and the same shewing white, be sure it is the castle of Aimonte. *To avoyde men of warre.* *The castle of Aimonte.*

A ruttier for the old Chanel from the East point of Cuba by the North side thereof to Havana. [III. 612.]

GOing from the Cape of S. Nicolas, thou shalt goe North Northwest, but thou must keepe to windward off the poynt, that thou mayest weather it, & it is called the poynt of Mayaci: and it is a very low land and smooth: and above up within the land about a league it hath a long Hill, which is not very high but flat. And from that poynt to Baracoa is 7. leagues. *The cape of S. Nicolas on the East ende of Cuba.* *Punta de Mayaci.*

And being disposed to goe into Baracoa, keepe the weather-shore all along, untill thou open the Harbour. And to knowe if thou bee open of the Harbour, looke upon the South side; and thou shalt see an Hill by it selfe, which maketh as it were a crowne upon it. And if thou come along, it maketh as it were a Fort with Ports about it: And this is the marke if thou come out of the Sea. And this Hill is North and South of the Harbour, over the Harbour of Baracoa. And if thou wilt goe in, thou must take heede of a Shoald which lyeth on the East side, and thou must keepe the West side: and goe not much from the Shoald, because the foote of the Shoald that shooteth Westward hath 5. fathoms water. And when thou art within the Shoalds, thou must goe a litle within them, and then let fall an anchor: and looke that thou come not much on the East side, for it is shoaldie. *Baracoa.* *A shold on the East side of Baracoa.*

And comming out from Baracoa, being to passe through the old chanel, you shal set your course Northwest until you come with the Cayo de Moa, or the shoald of Moa, untill you thinke you are Northeast *Cayo de Moa.*

and Southwest with it, or till you thinke you are gone 12. leagues: and you shal know that you are upon Cayo de Moa. For before you come at it by 2. leagues or more, you shall understand that it hath a poynt of lowe land, and upon the poynt it hath a Palme tree; which tree you shall see alwayes, before you see the point: and it is like a sayle. From thence to the Pracellas or Flats you shall stirre Northwest two parts of your way, that you have to runne from Cayo de Moa to the sayd Pracellas or Flats, and the one halfe part of the way North Northwest and by West. And this way you shall see the Pracellas or Flats in a cleane place of the shoald above the water, for all the breach of the sea. The Mosowes bee from the Pracell West, and you shall leave them to windward.

This worde Cayo in the Biskayne tongue signifieth a flat or a shoald.

Pracellas.

The Mosowes.

And if you will goe with the Pracellas or Flats, you shall finde 4. or 5. fathomes: and you may goe sure without danger a Northwest course untill you come in 7. fathomes. And if you will goe upon the Shoald, you shall goe upon that depth, untill you have runne 40. or 45. leagues: And from thence you shall set your course Southwest, till you see the Flattes of the maine land. You shall then see to the Westward a rocke divided into 3. partes, which is called the Camoloquea. And looke that when you come from the Pracellas Southwest, you have certaine Flats before you: take heede of them that you fall not by night with them by foure leagues, for feare of the Mecala: and you shall set your course West Northwest untill day: and when it is day, you must beare close aboord the shore, and then you shall see a flat Island with many broken sands, which is called Cropeda, and lyeth but a little out of the trade way, somewhat to the Northward. Off that you shall see 2. Rocks of stone, which are the poynt of all the Flats: And two leagues from them on the mayne land you shall see a poynt which sheweth like broken land. This is called the poynt of Caucus. And from that poynt to Matanzas

Camoloquea.

The Flats of Mecala to be avoyded.

Cropeda a flat Island.

2. Rockes of stone.

Punta de Caucus.

Matanzas.

on the Northside of Cuba are 12. leagues, and your course lieth West and by North: and then you must borrow upon the land all that you can, because of the currents: for the currents will cary you into the Chanell. And being at Matanzas, you must runne all along the shore, because of the currents. Remember that when you see one league before you a Rocke, and a Shoald, that hath upon it but 2. fathomes water; and your marke if you come out of the sea is an Hill, and the Hil is not very hie, it standeth East and West, and upon it are some little risings and they are not very high, and upon these risings stand two round homocks close together, you shall see the Teates of Havana.

The currents.

The Teates of Havana.

To know along the shore when you are against the Harbour of Xaroca, the markes are these. A little to the Westward one league, you shall see along the shore a Hill that is broken, and that broken Hill is over the Harbour of Xaroca: and then a little more to the Westward a league, there is another broken Hill. And you shall see that North and South from these broken hils is a Flat off. And from that to Havana is 7. leagues: and it is all cleane ground, and you may goe along the shore till you come to Havana. To know the harbour of Havana, you shall see before you come at it one litle rocke of stone not very hie, and smooth toward the sea: upon the rocke standeth a litle white tower, wherein they keepe watch. And then if you have the winde large, you shall see the harbour open, and then you may beare in with it.

The harbour of Xaroca.

Markes to know the harbour of Havana.

Your shippe being of great burthen, when you are within, then keepe on the West side, because on the East side, on the West end of the Rocke aforesayde, there lieth a ledge to the Westward which hath but three or foure fathoms ½ upon it. If your ship be of small burthen, you may run along the weather shore, untill you come right against the Castle; and then halfe the Bay over you may come to an anchor.

[III. 613.]

[How to

How to worke comming through the olde Chanell, if you be not minded to goe over the Pracellas or shoalds.

IF you will come through the olde Chanel, when you come as hie as the Shoalds, comming upon your course from the Caio de Moa, as I told you, keepe 2. leagues from the Pracel or shoald: and then set our course West unto the low islands of the Firme land. And upon this course you shal ken the Flats on the point of Caio Romano: and within it is one Flat higher then the other, and smooth upon, and in the middest it maketh as it were broken land; and when you are in the chanel in the day time, you must take heede you come not neere the shore by 2. leagues, and by your sounding no neerer then 3. fathoms. And you must take heede stil when ye night commeth to keepe 2. or three leagues off for feare of the shoalds. And in the night you must goe Northwest as is aforesaid. And also you must take heed that you keepe in the middle of the chanel, as nere as you can toward the shoald. And finding much wind & being benighted, from midnight till day stirre West Northwest, and when it is towards day, then you may edge towards the Flats as is aforesaid.

Caio de Moa.

Caio Romano.

And as you stirre hence one day and one night from Caio Romano to the inwards of the Chanell, you shall see the firme land of Cuba, and other markes; and among the rest, a round hamocke, which you may easily know. It is called Alcane de Barasoga. And from thence to Savano and to Basquo is 6. leagues, and likewise Havana 6. leagues. And from thence to crosse under the Fort is 45. leagues. And stirre hence upon your course aforesaid. And if you have gone from Barasoga 30. leagues, you shall see none of the Flats of Mecala: And give them a bredth off two or three leagues, and keepe your course West Northwest, as

Alcane de Barasoga. Savano. Basquo.

The Flats of Mecala.

aforesayd, untill it be day, and presently you may edge round to the Flats. And thus stirring, keepe your course untill you see the hilles of Camaloqua.

Take heede of that which is here sayd, for it hath litle reason.

And looke that when you come from Caio de Moa, along the Pracel or shoald by night close by it, you shall not see what land it is, till it be day: and in the Morning you shall set your course as is aforesayd untill you see the shoald, and in seeing it, you may stirre on your course as is above mentioned, untill you come to Havana.

Sierras de Camaloquea.
Caio de Moa.
Pracellas.
Havana.

For to set your course from the point of Mance to Caio Romano, when you are North and South with the point of Mance, you shall stirre thence West Northwest, until you thinke you be Northeast and Southwest with the hill of Hama. And this hill is an high hill and smooth to the seaside. And from this hill to Caio Romano you shall stirre Northwest and by West: and upon this course you may be bolde to see Caio Romano. And the marke of this Flat is, that it maketh an hie land and smooth upon the top: and in the middest of it, it sheweth as it were broken. And when you come to it, you must take heede you come not neere it by 2. leagues, because it is fowle. And looke that you bring not yourselfe too neere the hill of Hama by night. For you must take heede of Caio Romano to keepe off it untill Morning: in the Morning you may goe your course untill you see it, and then set your course, as is abovesaid.

Punta de Mance.
Sierra del Hama.
Caio Romano.
The markes of the Flat of Caio Romano.

[A principal

A principal ruttier conteining most particular directions to saile from S. Lucar in Andaluzia by the Isles of the Canaries, the small Isles called Las Antillas, along the South parts of the Isles of S. Juan de Puerto rico, Hispaniola and Cuba: and from Cabo de Corrientes, or Cabo de S. Anton without and within the litle Isles called Los Alacranes, to the port of S. Juan de Ullua in Nueva Espanna: and the course from thence backe againe by Havana, and through the Chanell of Bahama to Spaine: together with the speciall markes of all the Capes, Islands, and other places by the way; and a briefe declaration of their latitudes and longitudes.

Punta de Naga.

IF you depart from the barre of S. Lucar de Barameda toward the West Indias in the Summer time, you must stirre away Southwest untill you come to the head-land called Punta de Naga upon the Isle of Tenerif. But if your departure be from the sayd barre in the Winter, you must stirre away Southwest and by South, untill you come to the height of Cape Cantin on the coast of Barbarie: the markes and signes whereof be these following.

[III. 614.]

The markes to know Cape Cantin.

CApe Cantin is a lowe Cape and small to the sea ward, and maketh a snowt like the nose of a galley, and hath upon the top of the poynt a Heath or shrubby place, and on the toppe thereof stand two homocks, that to the sea-ward being higher then the other; but that on the Souther side sheweth like a tower: and his Cape is in 32. degrees and ½.

And he that wil seeke from this Cape to discover Punta de Naga beforesayd, must stirre away Southwest and by West, untill hee bring himselfe Northeast and Southwest with the same point, and then he must stirre away South to fetch the said point.

The signes of Punta de Naga.

THe said point or Head-land is an high point of Land, and plaine upon the toppe like a table, and without it there are two litle rockie Islands; and upon the North side of the said point is another point called Punta de hidalgo, and upon the top thereof are 2. picked rockes like unto the eares of a Hare.

Punta de hidalgo.

The course from the Canaries to the West Indies.

IF you set saile from any of the Islands of the Canaries for the West Indias, you must stirre away 30. or 40 leagues due South, to the ende you may avoid the calmes of the Island of Fierro: and being so farre distant from the said Island, then must you stirre away West Southwest, untill you finde your selfe in 20. degrees, and then saile West and by South untill you come to 15. degrees and ½. And from thence stirre away West and by North; and so shall you make a West way by reason of the Northwesting of the Compasse: which West way will bring you to the Island of Deseada.

The calmes of Fierro.

The variation of the compasse.

The markes of the Island of Deseada.

THis Island Deseada lieth East Northeast, and West Southwest, having no trees upon it, and it is proportioned like a Galley, and the Northeast ende thereof maketh a lowe nose like the snowt of a galley; and by comming neere it, and passing by the Norther ende thereof, you shall perceive white broken patches like heapes of sand with red strakes in them: & the Southwest

Deseada in 15. degrees and a halfe.

end of this Island maketh like the tilt of a galley. And this Island standeth in 15. degrees and ½.

Markes of the Island of Monserate.

MOnserate is an high Island, and round, full of trees, and upon the East side thereof you shall perceive certain white spots like sheetes: and being upon the South side at the very point of the Island, somewhat off the land, it maketh like a litle Island, and putting your selfe either East or West from that point, in the midst thereof will appeare a great broken land.

Markes of the Island of Marigalanta.

MArigalanta is a smooth Island, and full of wood or trees, and as it were of the fashion of a galley upon her decke: and being on the Southeast side about half a league off you shall make certaine homocks of blacke stones, and certain white patches: but on the West side appeare faire white sandy shores or plaines.

Markes of the Isle of Dominica.

THe Island of Dominica lieth Northwest and Southeast, and upon the Northwest side it sheweth more high: and if you come neere it at full sea, it will shew like two Islands, but by comming neerer unto it, you shall perceive it to be but one: and upon the Southeast side you shall make or see a plaine and long point, and upon the same point appeareth a cliffe like to the cliffe of Cape Tiburon; and upon the North side a litle from the land it sheweth like a litle Island, and upon the top thereof is, as it were, an high steeple, and upon the Norther side you shall perceive it like many white sheetes.

Markes of the Island of Guadalupe.

THe Island of Guadalupe lieth on the West of Deseada, and upon the Southwest part thereof appeare many hie mountaines, but upon the East side it maketh certaine tables, which are called the high part of Guada-

lupe. And this Island is cut North and South; so that the Canoas of India do passe from the North to the South of it, as if it were two Islands.

Markes of the Isle of Matalina, or Martinino.

[III. 615.]

THE Isle of Matalina is high and full of mountaines, having in the midst thereof 3. homocks: the middlemost homocke being highest sheweth like the great bowle of an hat. And upon the North side it appeareth like three little Islands. And in this Island there are warlike Indians like those of Dominica.

Warlike and dangerous Indians like those of Dominica.

Markes of the three small Islands called Islas de Los Santos, or the Islands of Saintes.

LOs Santos are 3. Islandes lying one close by another upon the South side of Guadalupe. For to goe with S. Juan de Puerto rico you must stirre away North-west, untill you fall with the Isle of Saba.

Markes to know the Isle of Saba.

SAba is a litle Island, and round about it you shall see the bottome; but feare not, for there is no danger but that which you shall see; and round about it, it maketh as it were certaine heapes of white sand; and by the side thereof it sheweth like a Ship under saile: but follow that direction that I have given, and you shall see La virgin gorda.

These 2. the white and the gray Islands are rather bare rockes in the sea, for so doeth Farrallon the Spanish word signifie. But I interprete it Island, because all the rocks separated from the bigger Islands are sayd to be litle Islands. This white & bare Island is made white by the dung of birdes and sea foules that resort unto it.

Markes to know the Isle called La virgin gorda.

LA virgin gorda is an high Island and round, and seeing it, you shall espie all the rest of the Virgines which lye East and West one from another, and are bare without any trees. You may goe about by them until you see the litle gray Island, which you shal see by it selfe by the Virgines; and comming neere to the sayd Island, over that you shall by and by rayse sight of the white litle Island, which seemeth like a ship under saile. And if

you will passe betweene this litle white Island or bare rocke, and the greene Island, you must beware that you leave the white Island on the larbourd side of you, and come no neerer it then a Caliever-shot, and so shall you passe through 12. fadome-water: and then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you enter into the Haven of Puerto rico: and if you chance to passe the sayd Island by night, goe by the foresaid direction, untill the first watch be out, and then take in your sayles, and so drive untill it bee neere day: and then hoise sayles, and stirre away Southwest, seeking the sayde Port: and when you come to the entring within, you must stay till 10. of the clocke for the sea-turne. And know, that having the Loguilo at Southwest, then shall the Harbour be off you North and South.

Directions from Monserate to Santa Cruz.

HE that departeth from Monserate to Santa Cruz, must stirre away Westnorthwest: and by the same course you shall seaze upon S. Juan de Puerto rico.

Markes to know the Isle of Santa Cruz.

SAnta Cruz is an Island not very high, all full of homocks: and comming with it at full sea, it will shew like the Virgines: and upon the East side there are two homocks higher then all the rest. And by this course you may goe to the Isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico; and having found it, you may sayle along the South coast East and West, untill you come to Cabo Roxo.

Markes to know Cape Roxo.

CApe Roxo is a low Cape and trayling to the sea-ward, having certaine heapes of broken ground thereon, which are like a homocke, and at full sea the same sheweth like a litle Island from the land by it selfe, but comming neere unto it, it will make all a whole land.

Directions from Cabo roxo to the Isle of Mona.

IF you will seeke Mona from Cape roxo, you must stirre away West and by North.

Markes of the Isle of Mona.

THe Isle of Mona is a low, round, and smooth Island, lying lowe by the sea, and full of trees: and to goe from thence to the Isle of Saona you must stirre away West; and if you fall with it in the night season, and come any thing neere the land, then stirre away West and by South, untill it be neere day, that you may keepe your selfe by the land; and if so be that in the Morning you see it not, then stirre away Northwest, and so shall you finde it: and if it be faire weather, and you perceive that the current hath set you to the Southwest, then stirre away Northnorthwest, and so shall you goe cleare off the land.

Markes of the Isle of Saona. [III. 616.]

IF you chance to see the Isle of Saona, it is an Island smooth with the sea, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and you shall see the trees before you see the Island: and on the Southwest end of this Island appeareth a great high banke of white sand which is called the head of Saona. And if you would come to an anchor, you may, for all is cleare ground. And to go from this Island to Santa Catelina, you must stirre away Northwest.

Markes of the Isle of Santa Catelina.

SAnta Catelina is a litle lowe Island all full of low rockes even from the water, and hath not any trees, and it is close by the land; and if you doe not run along the coast of Hispaniola, you shall not see it: and from that Island to goe to Saint Domingo, you shall sayle along as the land lyeth, West and by North:

and before you come to the point called Causedo, you shall see certaine holes in rockes, which lye alongst as the rocks doe that cast up the water, which will shew like to the spouting of Whales. And a litle ahead off that, you shall see the point of Andresa: and ahead thereof the poynt of Causedo. This poynt of Causedo lyeth lowe close by the water, and passing thereby, the coast will make to thee Northwest and Southeast; and from thence to S. Domingo are 5. leagues. And if the winde chop up at North upon you, by meanes whereof you should be cast off from the coast or Port, and that you happen to see the olde Mines (called Sierras de las minas viejas) beare Northwest off you, and The teates which are within the land be open of you, then shal you be North and South with the harbour; and if The old Mines beare North off you, then shall you be below the harbour.

These rockes are called Los Buffaderos, or the spoutes.

The point of Causedo.

San Domingo.

Sierras de las minas viejas.

Directions from Saint Domingo to Nueva Espanna.

IF you will sayle from Saint Domingo in Hispaniola to Nueva Espanna, stirre away Southsouthwest, until you come up as farre as the point of Nizao: and from thence stirre away Westsouthwest, and so you shall finde the Isle of Beata. And if you saile from this point of Nizao for Ocoa, you must passe along the coast West and by North, untill you come to Puerto Hermoso, or The beautifull haven, which is 18. leagues distant from Saint Domingo: and if you proceede from Puerto Hermoso for Nueva Espanna, you must stirre away Southsouthwest, untill you looke out for Beata and Alto velo.

The point of Nisao.

The Isle of Beata.

Ocoa.

Puerto hermoso.

The Isle of Alto Velo.

Markes of the Isle of Beata.

BEata is a small Island and not very high: you may passe along the outside thereof, and there is no danger but that you may see; and by and by you shall raise Alto velo: and from thence you must stirre away

West and by South, to give a birth from the Islands called Los Frailes, or The Friers. And when you are as farre ahead as the Frailes, then must you stirre away West and by North, and so shall you goe right with Bacoa, and before you come to it, you shall see high craggie cliffes, and at the descending of them white paths like great sheetes; these high craggie mountaines are called Las sierras de donna Maria. And before you come to the sayde point of Bacoa, you shall discover a little lowe Island even with the Sea and full of trees, which is called Isla Baque.

Los Frailes.

Bacoa.

Las sierras de donna Maria.

Isla Baque.

Directions from Isla Baque to Cape Tiburon.

IF you will goe from the Island Baque, or from the point of Bacoa for Cape Tiburon, or to the isle of Navaza, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and edge in somewhat to the Northwest, and you shall passe betweene Navaza and Cape Tiburon.

Cape Tiburon.
The Isle of Navaza.

Markes of Cape Tiburon, which is the Western cape of Hispaniola.

CApe Tiburon lyeth sliding downe to the Seaward, and maketh a sharpe cliffe like the snout of a Tiburon or sharke-fish; and upon the top thereof it appeareth like white wayes with certaine gullets or draines upon it, which are caused by the passage of the water from the mountaine in the Winter time.

Markes of the Isle of Navaza.

NAvaza is a litle round Island full of low trees or shrubs, and it lyeth East and West from Cape Tiburon, and from this small Island to go for Sierras de Cobre, or The mountaines or mines of Copper upon the Southeast part of Cuba, you must stirre away Northnorthwest.

[Directions from

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Directions from Cape Tiburon to Cabo de Cruz in Cuba.

IF you will saile from Cape Tiburon to Cape de Cruz in Cuba, you must stirre away Northwest, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines de Cobre; and from thence you may goe along the coast West towardes Cabo de Cruz; and before you come at it you shall see The great Tarquino, and from this Tarquino you shall have to Cape de Cruz 30. leagues, and this great Tarquino is the highest land upon all that coast; and then by and by you shall see the lesser Tarquino, from whence to the foresayd Cape you have 12. leagues, and so shall you goe discovering the coast, untill you come to Cabo de Cruz.

Sierras de Cobre.

Sierras de Tarquino.

Markes of Cabo de Cruz.

CApe de Cruz is a low Cape full of shrubs; and from thence Westward you shall see no land; for the distance or bay is great between the sayd Cape and the Isles called Los Jardines.

Directions from Cape de Cruz to Isla de Pinos.

IF you sayle from Cape de Cruz to seeke the Island of Pinos, you must stir away Westnorthwest. And note, that if in this course you happen to sounde, doe not feare; for you have nine fathoms. If also going this course, you meete with certaine little Islands upon the larboord side, which are called The Caimanes, or The crocodiles, having sight of them, stir away Northwest, and so shall you finde the Island of Pinos. And if by seeing the sayde Islands called Caimanes you are amazed, you shall knowe by the latitude, whither they bee the Jardines or no: for if you finde your selfe in one and twentie degrees, then bee you sure they are The Jardines, and then stir out againe South, till you bee

Los Caimanes.

Los Jardines.

cleare of them; and when you have brought them North of you, then may you stirre away West, if it bee by day; if it bee by night, West and by South, till you see the Island of Pinos.

The markes of Isla de Pinos.

THe Island of Pinos stretcheth it selfe East and West, and it is full of homocks, and if you chance to see it at full sea, it will shewe like 3. Islands, as though there were divers soundes betweene them, and that in the midst is the greatest; and in rowing with them, it will make all a firme lande: and upon the East side of these three homocks it will shewe all ragged; and on the West side of them will appeare unto you a lowe point even with the sea, and oftentimes you shall see the trees before you shall discerne the point.

Directions from the Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes.

IF you saile from the foresayde Isle of Pinos to Cape de Corrientes, stir away West and by North; and before you come to the sayd Cape upon the Northside of you, you shall see certaine mountaines all full of homocks, which are called Las Sierras de Guanaguarico, and that upon the West part hath more homocks then that on the other.

Las sierras de Guanaguarico.

Markes of Cape de Corrientes.

CApe de Corrientes is a lowe Cape, though not so low as the other part of the land that lyeth along by it; for it is more lowe, and hath upon it 4. or 5. great splats like unto oxen, and the very point of the Cape is all white sand: and from thence Westward you shall discerne no lande, for it maketh a great bay: and from hence you must saile to Cape de Sant Anton.

[Markes of

Markes of Cape de Sant Anton.

THe cape of Sant Anton is lowe by the sea, and all full of shrubs or trees; and you shall see within the land a lake of fresh water; and if you want water, there you may water: and upon the North side of the said Cape you shall discerne a palme tree higher then the rest of the trees, and it sheweth round like a bowle at the top, like to the top of a ship: and North from the Cape are certaine sholdes which are 2. or 3. leagues long.

A convenient watering place.

Directions from the Cape de S. Anton to Nueva Espanna on the outside of the small Islands called Los Alacranes or The Scorpions.

IF you will sayle from Cape Sant Anton to Nueva Espanna with a North winde, then stirre away Westnorthwest from 21. to 22. degrees, and then sound upon the pracel or flat; and if you see by this direction, that you holde water, then stir away Northwest, untill you lose the ground; and then follow your course againe, untill you have brought your selfe into 24. degrees and ½. and then saile West untill you bring your selfe North and South with the Isle of Vermeja, or The red Isle: then stir away Southwest, and by this way you shall finde Villa rica on the coast of Nueva Espanna. And if by going this course you be in 19. degrees and ½. and chance not to see the lande, then stir away West untill you see Villa rica, and from thence saile you South for the harbour of S. Juan de Ullua: and if you should be neere the land you must stir South and by West towardes the same harbour. And if you chance to see the Volcan or burning hill to beare west & by South from you, then know, that the harbour of S. Juan de Ullua shalbe East and west off you.

[III. 618.]

The Isle Vermeja.

Villa rica.

S. Juan de Ullua.

A volcan or burning hil.

Markes of Villa rica.

VIlla rica standeth in 19. degres and ½. and the signes thereof are certaine high hilles full of homocks of many heads, which have on the top of them certain white patches after the maner of white beaten wayes; and these hils lie Northeast and Southwest. And if you doubt whether these be the Sierras or hils of S. Martin, wet your lead or sound, and if you finde bottome, they are the Sierras of Villa rica: and saile you to the landward, and looke by how much you come neerer the land, so much will they seeme lower unto you: but so doe not the hilles of S. Martin; for the neerer you come to them, the higher will they appeare to you: and likewise if they be the hilles of S. Martin, you shall not finde bottome, but even at land it selfe.

Sierras de Sant Martin.

Sierras de Villa rica.

Markes of Rio de las palmas, and of the river of mountaines called Rio de las montannas.

IF you should chance to fall with Rio de las palmas, or The river of palmes, or els with the river of Mountaines, it is all a plaine lande, and full of trees and certaine woodie homocks, and among them certaine heapes of sand, and all this along by the sea side: and if you went by land to the river of Panuco, you shall have many mouthes or openings of plaias or strands, where also are many lizas or oazy places, which stretch to Rio Hermoso.

Rio de las palmas.

Rio de las montannas.

Rio de Panuco.

Rio Hermoso, or The beautifull river.

You must beware what part soever you happen of this coast to fall withall, to discover it, and although you knowe it, you must sound the depth; because if the windes bee Easterly, the current setteth there much to the North: but if you should be 40. leagues at sea, then this current setteth to the Northeast.

The current of the bay of Mexico (the winde being at the East) setteth to the North, and 40. leagues from the shore to the Northeast.

[Markes of

Markes of Rio Hermoso or The beautifull river.

IF you wil seeke the river called Rio Hermoso, looking well within the land, you shal see three homocks of an high hill, and those two which are to the landward within, are rounder then the other which is neerest the sea, for that it is longer and bigger, and lyeth North and South, and you shall be 4. leagues at sea when you shall see them: and they are called The sierras, or mountaines of Tamaclipa; and from thence to the river of Panuco there is no high land, but all lowe and even with the sea, and full of palme trees and other trees.

The mountaines of Tamaclipa.

Markes of the river of Panuco.

IF you fall with the river of Panuco (betweene which and the foresayde Villa rica standeth the Island called Isla de Lobos or The Isle of seales) the markes bee these. From the mouth of the river it maketh a great bay without, and at the ende of this bay upon the Northside there is oazy, low, and bare ground altogether without trees, and at the out ende of the oazy lowe place upon the West side it maketh a low homock like to a Lizards head: and when you see the aforesayde cliffe, you shall bee in the opening of the mouth of the sayd river, and then shall you see a little low tower having on the top of it a crosse, which the fishermen call Marien: and this barre hath on it 2. fathom water, and 2. and $\frac{1}{2}$. and you neede not to stay for the tyde, for that it floweth not there: and that you may the better knowe whether you bee in this bay which I have mentioned, or not, you shall see certaine hils at West Southwest, which are called Las sierras de Tarquia; and forthwith also you shall see the oazy place that I speake of, which goeth to the mouth of the river where standeth a towne called S. Luis de Tampice, and from thence to Panuco you have 9. leagues by land.

No tide at the river of Panuco.

Las sierras de Tarquia.

S. Luis de Tampice.

The markes of Isla de lobos, or The Isle of seales.

ISla de lobos is a small Island nothing so big as the carde doth shew it, and in it is a litle grove or wood of palme trees, and all the rest of the Island is without trees, and round about it are sundry playas or [III. 619.] strandes, and it is inclosed round about with arrazifes or shoalds, and chiefly toward the maine lande. And from thence to Cape Roxo or The red Cape are 3. *Cabo Roxo.* leagues. And if you will come to anker at this Island to *A watering* water, for that there is water in it, you may ride on all *place.* the South side close by the poynt that stretcheth to the Westward, and you may passe by the East side of it, and ride in 22. fathom, and untill you come to 15. fathoms, all is cleane ground.

Markes of the river of Tuspa.

IF you fall with the river of Tuspa, you must beware the sholdes which run 5. or 6. leagues into the sea: and upon this river of Tuspa within the lande there are high hilles which lie Northeast and Southwest, and have their ending upon the bay of Cassones: and *The bay of* upon the river you shall perceive a white cliffe, which *Cassones.* will shew unto you like the castle of S. Juan de Ullua.

Markes of the river of S. Peter and S. Paul.

IF you chance to fall with the bay of Cassones, and upon the river of S. Peter and S. Paul, take heede: for the sayd bay is a deepe bay, and the hilles of Tuspa have their ending upon this bay. And in the *All these are* mouth of this river of S. Peter and S. Paul are two *upon the coast* homockes of white sand, the Westermost being bigger *of Tabasco.* then that on the Northeast. And by and by you shall *Las sierras de* perceive the water to change white which commeth out *S. Pablo.* of the river, and sounding you shall finde sande mixed with clay upon your lead; and looke upon the West

side, and you shall see the Sierras or mountaines of S. Paul, which are two, and that on the North side is higher then the other.

Markes of Almeria.

IF you should chance to fall or come upon the plaines of Almeria, it is a lande full of many homocks, some with tuftes of trees on them, and some bare with white sand, and in 60. fathoms you shall have clay or oaze, and in 30. fathom to the landward sand. And from thence to Punta de hidalgo or Punta delgada the coast lyeth Northeast and Southwest.

Punta delgada, or The slender point.

Soundings of Villa rica.

IF you fall with Villa Rica in 30. fathoms, you shall finde clay or oaze, and in some places stones, and neere the lande you shall have sand: and upon the port of S. Juan de Ullua you shall have in some places clay or oaze, and in some places herring bones, and in other places mase and , and upon the rocks called Cabezas anegadas you shall have small blacke sande at 17. fathom two leagues from land. And if you see a coast that lieth Northeast and Southwest, and another Northwest and Southeast, you shall be upon S. Paul: and if you should be upon Cabezas anegadas, you shall finde in 30. fathoms great sand & blacke, and in 28. fathoms you shall have the sand white like the shavings of free stone: and from S. Paul to the barre of Vera Cruz it is clay or oaze, and from thence to S. Juan de Ullua you have many deeps, which at one sounding bring you clay, and at another sand, and at another clay and mase together, and herring bones: and in some 35. or 40. fathom you shal finde rockie ground, and in some places sand, and in some other places herring bones: and we call this Comedera de pescado, or The foode of fishes.

Cabezas anegadas are sunken heads or rocks under water.

Comedera de Pescado.

The course from Cabo de Corrientes and Cabo de S. Anton upon the West end of Cuba, towards Nueva Espanna, within the Isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions.

IF you saile from Cape de Corrientes towarde Nueva Espanna on the inside of The Alacranes, you must stir West: and when you thinke you have sailed 35. or 40. leag. you shall sound upon the pracel, and you shall come upon many bristlings of waters, which, if it were faire weather, would seeme a skull of fish. And before you come out of the bristlings, if you sound you shal have depth as I have sayd. If you goe from Cape de S. Anton by the inside of The Alacranes, you must stir away West and by South, and you shall finde sounding in the same order as I have sayd: you shall have white sand, and neere the land you shall finde it like the shavings and peckings of free stone, and white sand like houre-glasse-sand, and sometimes periwinkles or small shelles. Also if you sound in deepe water, and on the sudden finde rockes, then knowe that you are upon The Alacranes, and then stir away Westsouthwest untill you finde cleane ground, and til you bring your selfe into 18. or 20. fathoms. And if you goe deeping your water, then stir away West, and by these depths you shall go sounding; and then taking your heigth by sunne or starre, you must beware that you passe not 21. degrees & $\frac{1}{3}$. or 21. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. at the most; and in this heigth, and at 18. or 20. fathoms you shall follow your way: and if you deepen water, edge to the Northwestward, and if you alter more your depth, edge to the Southwestward, untill you have gotten so farre ahead as Cape Sisal, and discovered the coast of Campeche, which coast lyeth North and South, and you shall take up on your lead

Cabo de Corrientes.

Cabo de S. Anton.

[III. 620.]

Cape Sisal upon the coast of Campeche in Yucatan Or Isla de Arenas.

white sande like houreglasse sand, and sometime periwinkles or small shelles; and by and by you shall goe increasing depth, until you lose it, and so shal you passe between the Triangle and the Sandy Iland.

The course betweene the Triangle and the Sandy Island to S. Juan de Ullua.

Sierras de S. Martin.

WHen you have lost your depth, stirre away Southwest to fetch the Sierras or hils of S. Martin: and to knowe the hils of S. Martin, there are 2. hils stretching Northeast and Southwest, and the Southwest is greater then that on the Northeast, but the Northermost hill is higher, and maketh on the top a flat point and very high, and without it, it hath an Island which *Roco partida.* is called Roca partida, or The cloven rock: and if it be cleare, on the Southwest side an high lande like a topsaile will appeare, and then shall you bee North and *Or Minsapa.* South with The Pan or Loafe of Nisapa. Note, that these Sierras or Hilles of Sant Martin are all blacke and full of trees, and make no shewe as Villa rica doth: And marke this, that by how much you come neerer them, so much the higher will they shewe unto you: neither shall you finde any bottome till you bee at the very shore.

The course from Roca partida or The cloven rocke to S. Juan de Ullua.

IF you depart from Roca partida or The cloven rocke for Sant Juan de Ullua, you must stir away Westnorthwest, and so shall you fetch or fall with *Or Antoniserro.* the point of Anton Mislardo: and if you happen to sound upon The sunken rocks called Cabezas anegadas, you shall have black sand and 17. fathom water, and you shall bee but a league from the land, and if you bee 2. leagues from the land, you shall have 34. fathoms.

The course from Sant Juan de Ullua in the bay of Mexico to Spaine in Europe.

IF you depart from S. Juan de Ullua to Havana, you must stir away Northeast until you bring your selfe in 25. degrees, and from thence you must stir away East from the little Islands called Las Tortugas, untill you have the sounding of them; and if you finde white sande very small, you shall bee East and West with them, and if your sounding bee shellie ground and periwinkles, or small shelles or skales, then shall you be Northeast and Southwest, and the shelles or skales must bee red, and if at some time you take up blacke sande, then are you North and South with the sayd Tortugas. *Las Tortugas.*

Markes of The Tortugas.

IF you chance to fall with The Tortugas, they are 5. or 6. little Islands of white sand, lowe and close by the sea, saving one which hath on it some shrubs or bushes of trees: and they are in 25. degrees.

The course from The Tortugas toward Havana.

IF you depart from The Tortugas towards Havana with a fresh winde, you must stir away Southwest: and if it be faire weather, and a small gale of winde, then stir South, that the current may not draw you in, nor set you too much to the Westward: and if you fall with Los Organos, they are a ranke of high and low hilles with many sharpe heads like unto Organ pipes and at the entring thereof on the South side is Rio de puercos, or The river of hogs; and at the further ende is the deepe bay called Baya honda, and there is the round loafe or heape called El pan de baya honda, that is to say, The loafe of the deepe bay: and from this place untill you come to Cape

The hilles called Los Organos upon Cuba neere Havana.
Rio de Puercos.
Baya honda.

de S. Anton all is sholdes and flats 4. or 5. leagues into the sea, even as farre as the sayde Cape: and from Baya honda or The deepe bay to Havana, all the coast is full of high and lowe hilles, which they call La Quadrilla de sierras, which is as much to say, as A companie of hilles together like souldiers on a heape; and more to the Eastward you shall descry an high hill which is called El pan de Cabannas. And if you fall with Havana, you shall see on the Southwest side an hill called La meza de Marien, or the Table of Marien; and if it be cleare, you shall see lower to the Westwarde the heape or loafe that is called El pan de Cabannas. You must note, that about Havana it is all lowe land even with the sea, till you come to Mesa de Marien, and then looke well within the lande, and you shall see 2. little round trees like to the teates of womens breasts; and bringing your selfe North and South, you shall be with the harborough of Havana, and then shall you soone perceive the tower that is upon the cliffes of Havana.

La Quadrilla de sierras.

El pan de Cavannas.

La mesa de Marien.

[III. 621.]

The tower of Havana.

Markes of the haven or port called Puerto de Marien.

PUerto de Marien is a harbour that you may enter into without any danger or feare, but at the entrance thereof you must borrow on the West side, by reason of the rockes and shelves, and when you are within, then borrow on the East shoare, and leave the other side, and so shall you enter safe: and from this place to Havana is all lowe lande. Note, that if you overpasse the harborough of Havana to the Eastward, or if the current hath set you past it by meanes of calmes, then shall you perceive at full sea upon the coast certaine broken places like the enterances of harbours, because the lande is lowe; and comming neere the shoare you shall see in some places of the coast Playas or strandes of sande which shewe like unto Chipiona: and looking Eastward along the sea coast,

Note.

Chipiona a towne standing upon the coast of Andaluzia next unto S. Lucar.

you shall see a round loafe which is called El pan de Matanzas: and also you shall perceive in certaine places round white heapes of sande called Barrancas. If you will recover Havana, go along the coast close by the lande, for the current runneth very swift in the chanell, and there is no feare but of that which you may see; for all the coast is cleane ground.

El pan de Matanzas.

Barrancas also signifie creeks or broken entrances of landes.

The course from Havana to Spaine.

IF you will saile from Havana to Spaine, you must stirre away Northeast, till you come to the head of The Martires called La Cabeza de los Martires. If it chance before you come to the said head, that the winde should chop up at North on you, then stand to the Eastward, untill you bring your selfe as farre ahead as Matanzas; then cast about to the West, to discover the lande of The Martires, or of Florida, that the current may not set you on The Mimbres: and if by chance you see The Pan de Matanzas at ful sea, it hath these markes following. It is a round heape or loafe, and high withall, and on the Westerne side thereof, appeareth a rocke like to the head of a Tortoise: and betweene this Pan and the hilles of Seluco, there will appeare unto you a great broken lande, like as it were sunken places, and upon the East side of this Pan toward Punta de los Puercos it is all lowe lande, and you shall see no high lande at all: and being so farre shot, that this Pan de Matanzas shall beare Westnorthwest and Southsoutheast off you, and being desirous also to avoyde the furie of the current of the chanell of Bahama, stir away Northnortheast, and by this course you shall passe the chanell, and win the coast of Florida.

Cabeza de los Martires.

Which Martires are a number of small Ilands lying ahead the Cape of Florida.

Los Mimbres.

The markes of Pan de Matanzas.

Punta de los Puercos.

The furious current in the chanell of Bahama.

Markes of the head of The Martires called Cabeza de los Martires.

THe head of The Martires are three heapes of white sande full of trees, and that in the midst hath on the top a crowne, as it were of white sande, and is higher

Directions to know whether you be in the chanell of Bahama or no.

and bigger then the other two: and to know whether you be entred into the chanell, marke well how the coast lyeth off you; and if you perceive that the coast beareth off you East and West, you are not in the chanell; but if the coast should beare off you Northeast and Southwest, then are you in the chanell; and taking your heigth you shall know: for if you finde your selfe in 24. degrees and ½, then are you East and West with the head of The Martires: and if you see the coast beare off you Northeast and Southwest, (as I have sayde) stir away 4. or 5. leagues from the landward right off; and then stir away Northeast: and being in 28. degrees and a halfe, you shall be shot out of the chanell, and then shall you be East and West with Cape de Cannaveral, or The Cape of Reedes.

Cabo de Cannaveral in 28. deg. and a halfe.

The course to come through the chanell of Bahama homeward for Spaine.

The course in Winter.

IF in Winter you should passe through the chanell of Bahama for Spaine, stirre away the first Sangradura or course Eastnortheast, and afterward East and by North, and so shall you passe by the South side of Bermuda: and you must take heede that you goe these foure hundred or five hundred leagues, because you shall not come neere the said Isle of Bermuda; & when you are gone this course, then put your selfe in what heigth you will, and make your way as you will your selfe. But if you passe the chanell in the Summer time towards Spaine, stir away Eastnortheast, and you shall passe by the North side of Bermuda; and when you have brought your selfe in 35. degrees, stirre East and by North untill you bring your selfe to 25. degrees and ½, and from thence stir away East for the Isle of Fayal or of Flores.

The Isle of Bermuda.

The course in the Summer more Northerly.

[III. 622.]

Markes to know the Isle of Fayal.

THe Island called Fayal upon the Southwest side, maketh an high hill or loafe like to the top of Brasilla in the Island of Terzera; and behinde that

high Pike or loafe is an harbour called Puerto Pini, and upon the East side it maketh a little plaine Island; and upon the North side there standeth a rocke or Island by it selfe. And from this Island being one of the Azores, you may shape your course to which of the Islands you please, or to any other place which you know. *Puerto Pini.*

Markes to know the Isle of Flores.

IF you happen to fall with Flores first, by this you shall know it: the Island lyeth Northeast and Southsouthwest, and the West ende thereof maketh a rocke or cliffe like the cliffe of Tiburon; and comming neere the lande, you shall see two little Islands neere the point of the lande; and to the Northward of this cliffe or rocke a little from the land you may ride and water; and betweene that and the village, in every bay you may likewise ride and water: and you shall see the water run into the sea in every part that you looke on.

Now followeth the course and direction to saile from Passage on the Northeast part of S. Juan de Puerto rico, unto Havana, by the North side of the Isle of Hispaniola, and by The old chanell.

El Passaje a place on the Northeast part of the Isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico.

IF you depart from S. Juan de Puerto rico to seeke Cabo del Enganno, you must stirre away Westnorthwest, and so shall you see a round heape or loafe in the sea, which lieth on the Southwest side of the gulfe of Semana; and from thence it beginneth about the hill of the Cape del Enganno, & this is the mouth of the gulfe. And if it should be neere night when you see this lande, stir away Northwest with a small sayle, because of certaine rockes called Las Ovejas, or The Sheepe: and in the morning cast about to see the land to the Southwestward; and if when *Cabo del Enganno the most Easterly Cape of Hispaniola. Or Samana.* *Las Ovejas.*

you see the land, it seemeth unto you a small island at full sea like a round mountaine, then is it The cape del Enganno: and from thence stir away West and by North toward Cabo Franco.

Markes of Cabo Franco.

Cabo Franco. CAbo Franco is a low Cape even with the sea, and hath these markes* And from thence stir away West, and you shall see an high mountaine, and on the top thereof a cloudie homock like the top of a hat: and at the foote of this hill is the haven or harbour called El puerto de plata. And if you will goe into this port, you must leave the Island on the West side, and then take heede of that which you see, and borrow on the castles side. And from thence to goe with the olde chanell, you must stirre away Northwest, untill you come out of sight of lande, and then stir away West and by North, and so shall you goe with the lande of Baracoa, and here are hilles very high, which make the teats which looke like 3. crownes. And you shall passe betweene the Isle of Tortugas, or Hinagua, and the Island of Jaico: and from thence run alongst the coast Northeast and Southwest; and having doubled the outmost high hill or mountaine, you shall see in the midst thereof a round hill, and upon the Southwest side by the sea you shall see a lowe even lande foure or five leagues long, and a lowe point, and this point of the hill is called La sierras de Cabanca; and then beginneth the bay of Cayo Romano: and ahead the sierras you shall see a rounde loafe which is in the midst of the same bay, and ahead of that you shall see a hill flat on the top like a table sixe or seven leagues, which hill is not very high, and from these hilles to Cayo Romano you have five and thirtie leagues, and you must stirre the one halfe of the course Northwest, and the other halfe Northwest and by West, and so shall you make or see the sayd Cayo Romano upon the larboord side of you. Note, that from Cayo Romano to Cabo de Cruz you have three leagues, and they lie North and South one from another.

El Puerto de Plata.

Baracoa.

Isla de Tortugas otherwise called Hinagua. The Isle of Jaico.

Las sierras de Cabanca. Cayo Romano. This word Cayo in the Biscaian tongue signifieth a flat or a shold.

Cabo de Cruz.

Markes of Cayo Romano.

CAyo Romano is an high Island, and lyeth Northeast and Southwest, and stretcheth it selfe as it were 4. leagues: and comming on it Northeast & Southwest, it maketh a loafe or round heape or homock; in the midst there are two saddles, as wee terme them, or lowe partitions, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side; and comming with it North and South, it maketh all one lowe send or saddle in the midst. And if night should come on you at this Cayo Romano, enter not the chanell, because in the mid way is an Isle, flat, or Cayo, which lyeth North and South with Cayo Romana, and it is called Cayo de la Cruz: and at full sea you shall discerne a heath, which this Cayo hath in the midst of it, which is like to a saile; but al night beare but your foresaile a glasse one way and another glasse the other way untill it be day, and then enter the chanell, and leave these Cayos, on the larbourd side of you. Note, that if you bee within sight of the Parcel, and see two litle Islands of white sand, that then you are on the cantell of the Parcel: and if you goe more a head coasting the Parcell, about fifteene leagues, you shall see three Islands full of trees, which are called Las Anguillas and all these three Islands beare North and South one from another. Item from Cayo de Cruz to Havana, if it be by day, stir away West Northwest; but if it be by night, then stir a point more to the Westward: and if in this course you chance to see the Parcell, feare not; for in the lowest water there are sixe fathomes; then cast about to the Southwestward to get out about two glasses, and then stir away West-northwest untill it be day and so shall you goe by the Cayos: and in this course you must keepe twentie foure leagues or thereabout. And from this Cayo de Cruz sixe or seven leagues lyeth another Cayo upon the Northeast and by North, which is great and white, and all even; But the point on the Southwest is

This Island lyeth 100. *leagues from Havana.*

[III. 623.]

The great Parcel.

Las Anguillas.

Another Cayo 6 or 7 leagues from Cayo de Cruz.

smaller, and upon the said point is a shrub or bush which sheweth like a saile: also there is a banke of white sand along by the sea-side, which in the middest thereof maketh a cliff full of trees that seemeth like a sadle: and upon the Northeast side (for on this maner the coast lyeth along from the Cape) going by the chanell you shal see certaine hilles eighteene or twentie leagues long lying Northeast and Southwest being all saddle-like: and bringing the poynt Southwest off you, you shall be in the middest of the chanell: and from thence you have as farre to Matanzas as to Cayo Romano. Likewise from thence on the side of Havana you shall see certaine hilles which shewe to be three, and ly Northeast and Southwest, and that on the Southwest is highest: they are called Las Sierras de Guana: and North and South from them lyeth a flat, which is called Cayo de Nicola, which stretched out two leagues into the Sea, and in the middle of the sayde flatte there is a little Island of white sand: and from thence you must sayle to Cruz del Padre.

El puerto de Matanzas or The haven of slaughters.

Las Sierras de Guana.

Cruz del Padre.

Markes of Cruz del Padre.

CRuz del Padre is a Cape all broken in pieces: and from thence you must stir away Northeast, because of the Bay that is there, called the Bay of Conell, and this Bay stretcheth to the Bay of Caos, which is within 20 leagues of the sayd poynt: and then stir away West Northwest to goe with the Port of Matanzas, and with the hilles of Camoniaca.

La Baia de Conel.
La Baia de Caos, or Cayos.

Markes of the hilles of Camoniaca.

THe hilles of Camoniaca ly Northwest and Southeast, and the Southeast side is lowe land and even: also upon the Northeast side it is even land, and runneth towards the Bay of Matanzas, and in the middle of these hilles there is one high hill, and upon the Northeast side there appeareth a round heape: and

Or Cameloquea.

if you see this hill at West Southwest, the Pan or round heape of Matanzas will beare off you West and by South.

Markes of the round hill called El pan de Matanzas.

THis Pan is a round heape standing on a lowe land and if you bring your selfe North and South with it, it will make you two saddles; and on the West side it maketh a great parted lande as it were sinking with the sea. Note that wheresoever you shall goe to seeke the Tortugas, and shall come with the coast and finde it beare off you Northeast and Southwest, I advise you to goe along the coast to the Southwestward: you may not deepen more then fortie five fathomes, for if you doe, you shall cast your selfe without the Tortugas.

Also you must note, that if by chance you finde your selfe shotte betweene the Tortugas, and the Martyres, and that you cannot goe on the out-side of the sayde Tortugas, then cause one to goe to the top, to see if you can descry them; and if you cannot see them, stir away Southwest untill you see them; and having gotten sight of them, sounde, and you shall finde eighteene or ninteene fathomes: and so sholding stir away South and by West, and goe by this course. And feare you not the sholding, for you shall meete with 12 fathoms, and shall have blacke sand in your sounding. And going neerer to the ende of the said Tortugas (for hee that is on the toppe shall see them all) as you passe by, you shall finde but eight fathomes, and stony ground, and that is the sholdest water you shall have. And you shall passe by a bustling of a tyde, that shoules out of the chanel that way: but you neede not feare any thing for you shall have no lesse then eight fathome water: and being past the said bustling but a minion shot, you shal loose the ground and be in the chanell. *Note.* [III. 624.]

An advertizment.

WHen you shall passe this course, goe not out of sight of the Tortugas. And if you will goe from thence to Havana, having a faire winde, stir away Southwest because the current may not set you off: and if with a fresh winde and Northerly, then stir away Southerly.

Here follow the latitudes of the headlandes, Capes, and Islands, as well of Madera, The Canaries, and the West Indies, as of the Azores and the Isles of Cabo Verde.

	Degrees of latitude.
THe island called Puerto santo standeth in	33
The isle of Madera standeth in	32½
The isle Salvaja in	30
The isle of Alagranza in	29½
The isle Fuerte ventura in	28½
The Grand Canaria in	28½
The isle of Palma, and the point called Punta de Naga in Tenerif in	28½
The isle of Gomera in	27½

The latitudes of the Islands of the West Indies.

	Degrees of latitude.
The island of Fonzeca standeth in	11¼
The isle Tabago in	skant 11
The Barbudos in	13
The isle of Trinidad upon the North side in	10
The isle of Granata in	11¼
The isle of Sant Vincent in	12
The isle of santa Lucia in	12¾
The isle of Dominica in	14
The isle of Matalina or Martinino in	14½

The isle of Marigalante in		15
The isle of Deseada in		15½
The isle of Monserate in		16
The isle called La Antigua in		17
The isle called La Baruada in		17
The isle of S. Bartholomew in		17
The isle of S. Martin in		17½
The isle called La Anguilla in	skant	18
The isle of Sombrero in		18½
The isle Anegada in		18⅔
The isle called La isla de Avez in		15½
The isles called Las Virgines in		18
The isle of Santa Cruz in		17
The isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico — On the North side in		18½
The isle of S. Juan de Puerto rico — On the South side in		17¼
Cape del Enganno upon the East part of Hispaniola in		18½
The point of the isle of Saona in		17½
The Cape called Punta de Nizao neere S. Domingo in Hispaniola in		17½
The isle Beata on the South side of Hispaniola in		17
The point of Bacao on the South side of Hispaniola in		17½
Cape Tiburon upon the West part of Hispaniola, and the isle of Navaza in		18⅓
The isle of Jamaica — On the South side in		17¼
The isle of Jamaica — On the North side in		18½
Cape de Cruz on the South side of Cuba in		20
The 3 Isles called Caimanes, or Crocodiles, South of Cuba, in		19¼
The dangerous isles called Los Jardines South of Cuba in		21
The isle of Pinos in		21
Cape de Corrientes upon the Southwest part of Cuba in		21½
Cabo de sant Anton being the most westerly Cape of Cuba in		22

[III. 625.]

	The litle isles called Los Alacranes, or The Scorpions, in	22
	The isles called Nigrillos in	23½
	Isla de Lobos, or The isle of seales neere the maine of Nueva Espanna, in	22
	The Cape of Yucatan called Cabo de Catoche in	21
large.	The island called Isla de Ranas in	21½

The latitudes of certaine places upon the coast of Nueva Espanna, and of divers other places lying in the way from thence to Spaine.	Degrees of latitude.
Villa rica standeth in	19½
Sant. Juan de Ullua in	18¾
From Sant Juan de Ullua sayling to the Tortugas you must sound in	27½
The small isles called Las Tortugas stand in	25
The Port of Havana upon the Northwest part of Cuba in	23½
The head of the Martyrs lying before the Cape of Florida in	25
The Mimbres are in	26½
The Chanel of Bahama in	27½
The Cape de Cannaveral upon the coast of Florida in	28⅓
The Isle of Bermuda in	33
This is a very commodious Isle for us in our way to Virginia. The *isle of John Luis or John Alvarez in	41¼

The latitudes of the Isles of the Azores.	Degrees of latitude.
The isle of Flores standeth in	39½
The isle of Cuervo in	40
The isle of Fayal in	38½
The isle of Pico and the isle of Sant George both in	38½
The isle of Terzera in	39
The isle of Gracioso in	39½

The isle of Santa Maria in	37
The isle of sant Michael in	38
Cape sant Vincent upon the coast of Spaine	37
The Rocke in	39
The Burlings in	40
Bayona in	42½
Cape Finister in	43½
The enterance of the streights of Gibraltar is in	36
Cape Cantin upon the coast of Barbarie in	32½
Cape Bojador upon the coast of Barbarie in	27* *large.*
Rio del oro, or The river of Gold, in	23½
Cabo de Barbas in	22
Cabo blanco, or the white Cape in	20¾

The latitude of the isles of Cabo verde.

The isles of Sant Anton, Sant Vincent, Santa Lucia, and Sant Nicolas stand all in	18⅓
Isla del Sal, or The isle of salt, in	17¼
The isle called Buena vista in	16
The isle of Sant Iago in	15

[III. 626.]

The latitudes of divers Islands, Capes, and other places, from the Isle of Margarita upon the coast of Cumana Westward along the coast of Tierra Firma.	Degrees of latitude.
The isles of Aruba, Curazao, and Buinaro stand all in	12
The isle of Margarita in	11
The islandes called Los Testigos in	11¼
The coast of Baya Honda to Cape de la Vela lyeth East and West in	12
Cape del Aguja in	11⅓
The rockes of Serrana in	14
The Roncador in	13½
The isle of Santa Catelina in	13½
The isle of Sant Andrew in	12½

The Seranilla in	$15\frac{1}{2}$
The isle of Centanilla or Santanilla in	$17\frac{1}{4}$
Cape Camaron on the maine, South of the enterance of the Honduras	16
Ganaba in	$16\frac{3}{4}$
Genaza in	$16\frac{1}{2}$

Here followeth a declaration of the Longitudes, or Western and Eastern distances, from Spaine to Newe Spaine in America, and from thence backe againe to Spaine.

	Leagues.
From Sal Medina upon the Coast Andaluzia till you bring your selfe North and South with Cape Cantin upon the Coast of Barbary	85
From Sal Medina to the island of Gran Canaria	200
From the Gran Canaria to Deseada	850
From Deseada to Monserate	20
From Monserate to santa Cruz	58
From santa Cruz to Cape Roxo the Southwest Cape of Sant Juan de Puerto Rico	45
From Cape Roxo to Saona	25
From Saona to sant Domingo	25
From sant Domingo to Ocoa	18
From Ocoa to Beata	20
From Beata to the isle Baque	43
From the isle Baque to Navaza	33
From Navaza to sant Iago of Cuba	32
From sant Iago of Cuba to Cabo de Cruz	34
From Cabo de Cruz to the first Cayman	40
From the first Cayman to the middle Cayman	6
From the middle Cayman to the great Cayman	12
From the great Cayman to the isle of Pinos	48
From Cabo de Cruz to the isle of Pinos by the forsaid course	106
From the isle of Pinos to Cabo de Corrientes	19
From Cabo de Corrientes to Cabo de sant Anton	20

The course from Cabo de sant Anton to sant Juan de Ullua by the outside or North of the Isles called Alacranes.

From Cabo de sant Anton to the Nigrillos	106
From the Nigrillos, untill you bring your selfe North and South with the isle Vermeja	25
From the isle Vermeja to Villa Rica	96
From Villa rica to Sant Juan de Ullua	12

The course from Cabo de Corrientes to sant Juan de Ullua on the inside or South of the Alacranes.

From Cabo de Corrientes to the first sounding	45
From the first sounding till you come so farre a head as the island called Isla de Ranas	80
From Isla de Ranas unto	

The longitudes from New Spaine, backe againe to Spaine. [III. 627.]

	Leagues.
From Saint Juan de Ullua to the Tortugas.	280
From the Tortugas to Havana.	36
From Havana to the head of the Martyrs.	36
From the head of the Martyrs to the Mimbres.	30
From the Mimbres to Bahamá.	22
From the head of the Martyrs to Cabo de Cannaveral.	62
From Cabo de Cannaveral to Bermuda.	350
From Bermuda to the Isle of John Luis or John Alvarez.	320
From the Isle of John Luis or Alvarez to Flores.	300
From Flores to Fayal.	28
From Fayal to Terzera.	28
From Terzera to Saint Michael.	28
From Saint Michael to Cape Saint Vincent.	218
From Terzera to Cape Saint Vincent.	256
From Cape S. Vincent to Cabo de santa Maria upon the coast of Algarbe.	22
From Cabo de santa Maria to Sal Medina in Andaluzia.	32

The discoverie of the large, rich, and beautifull Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden citie of Manoa (which the Spaniards call El Dorado) and the provinces of Emeria, Aromaia, Amapaia, and other countries, with their rivers adjoyning. Performed in the yeere 1595 by Sir Walter Ralegh Knight, Captaine of Her Majesties Guard, Lorde Warden of the Stanneries, and Her Highnesse Leiutenant Generall of the Countie of Corne-wall.

To the right Honourable my singular good Lord and kinsman Charles Howard, Knight of the Garter, Baron and Counceller, and of the Admirals of England the most renowmed: and to the right Honourable Sir Robert Cecyll knight, Counceller in her Highnesse Privie Councels.

FOr your Honours many Honourable and friendly partes, I have hitherto onely returned promises, and now for answere of both your adventures, I have sent you a bundle of papers, which I have devided betwene your Lordship, and Sir Robert Cecyll in these two respects chiefly: First for that it is reason, that wastful factors, when they have consumed such stockes as they had in trust, doe yeeld some colour for the same in their account; secondly for that I am assured, that whatsoever shall bee done, or written by me, shall neede a double protection and defence. The triall that I had of both your loves, when I was left of all, but of malice and revenge, makes me still presume, that you wil be pleased (knowing what litle power I had to performe ought, and the great advantage of forewarned enemies) to answer that out of knowledge, which others shal but object out of

malice. In my more happy times as I did especially Hon. you both, so I found that your loves sought mee out in the darkest shadow of adversitie, and the same affection which accompanied my better fortune, sored not away from me in my many miseries: al which though I can not requite, yet I shal ever acknowledge: & the great debt which I have no power to pay, I can do no more for a time but confesse to be due. It is true that as my errors were great, so they have yeelded very grievous effects, & if ought might have bene deserved in former times to have counterpoysed any part of offences, the fruit thereof (as it seemeth) was long before fallen from the tree, & the dead stocke onely remained. I did therefore even in the winter of my life, undertake these travels, fitter for bodies lesse blasted with mis-fortunes, for men of greater abilitie, and for mindes of better incouragement, that thereby, if it were possible, I might recover but the moderation of excesse, & the least tast of the greatest plenty formerly possessed. If I had knowen other way to win, if I had imagined how greater adventures might have regained, if I could conceive what farther meanes I might yet use, but even to appease so powreful displeasure, I would not doubt but for one yeere more to hold fast my soule in my teeth, till it were performed. Of that litle remaine I had, I have wasted in effect all herein. I have undergone many constructions. I [III. 628.] have bene accompanyed with many sorrowes, with labour, hunger, heat, sickenes, & perill: It appeareth notwithstanding that I made no other bravado of going to the sea, then was ment, and that I was never hidden in Cornewall, or els where, as was supposed. They have grosly belied me, that forejudged, that I would rather become a servant to the Spanish king, then returne, and the rest were much mistaken, who would have perswaded, that I was too easefull and sensuall to undertake a journey of so great travell. But, if what I have done, receive the gracious construction of a

painefull pilgrimage, and purchase the least remission, I shall thinke all too litle, & that there were wanting to the rest many miseries. But if both the times past, the present, and what may be in the future, doe all by one graine of gall continue in eternall distast; I doe not then know whether I should bewaile my selfe, either for my too much travell and expence, or condemne my selfe for doing lesse then that, which can deserve nothing. From my selfe I have deserved no thankes, for I am returned a beggar, and withered, but that I might have bettred my poore estate, it shall appeare by the following discourse, if I had not onely respected her Majesties future Honour, and riches. It became not the former fortune in which I once lived, to goe journeys of picory, it had sorted ill with the offices of Honour, which by her Majesties grace I hold this day in England, to run from Cape to Cape, and from place to place, for the pillage of ordinaries prizes. Many yeeres since, I had knowledge by relation, of that mighty, rich and beautifull Empier of Guiana, and of that great and golden Citie, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, and the naturals Manoa, which Citie was conquered, reedified, and inlarged by a yonger sonne of Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, at such time as Francisco Pizarro and others conquered the said Empire, from his two elder brethren, Guascar, and Atabalipa, both then contending for the same, the one being favoured by the Orejones of Cuzco, the other by the people of Caxamalca. I sent my servant Jacob Whiddon the yere before, to get knowledge of the passages, and I had some light from Captaine Parker, sometime my servant, and nowe attending on your Lordship, that such a place there was to the Southward of the great Bay of Charuas, or Guanipa: but I found that it was 600 miles farther off then they supposed, and many other impediments to them unknowen and unheard. After I had displanted Don Antonio de Berreo, who was upon the same enterprize, leaving my

ships at Trinidad, at the Port called Curiapan, I wandred 400 miles into the said countrey by lande and river: the particulars I will leave to the following discourse. The countrey hath more quantity of gold by manifolde, then the best partes of the Indies, or Peru: All the most of the kings of the borders are already become her Majesties vassals: and seeme to desire nothing more then her Majesties protection and the returne of the English nation. It hath another ground and assurance of riches and glory, then the voyages of the West Indies, an easier way to invade the best parts thereof, then by the common course. The king of Spaine is not so impoverished, by taking three or foure Port townes in America, as wee suppose, neither are the riches of Peru, or Nueva Espanna so left by the sea side, as it can bee easily washt away with a great flood, or springtide, or left dry upon the sandes on a lowe ebbe. The Port townes are fewe and poore in respect of the rest within the lande, and are of litle defence, and are onely rich, when the Fleets are to receive the treasure for Spaine: and we might thinke the Spaniards very simple, having so many horses and slaves, if they could not upon two dayes warning cary all the golde they have into the land, and farre enough from the reach of our foote-men, especially the Indies being (as they are for the most part) so mountanous, so full of woodes, rivers, and marishes. In the Port townes of the Province of Venezuela, as Cumana, Coro and S. Iago (whereof Coro and S. Iago were taken by Captaine Preston, and Cumana and S. Josepho by us) we found not the value of one riall of plate in either: but the Cities of Barquasimeta, Valencia, S. Sebastian, Cororo, S. Lucia, Laguna, Maracaiba, and Truxillo, are not so easely invaded: neither doeth the burning of those on the coast impoverish the king of Spaine, any one ducat: and if we sacke the river of Hacha, S. Marta, and Cartagena, which are the Portes of Nuevo reyno, and Popayan; there are besides within the land, which are indeed riche and

populous, the townes and Cities of Merida, Lagrita, S. Christophoro, the great Cities of Pamplon S. Fe de Bogota, Tunxa and Mozo where the Esmeralds are found, the townes and Cities of Marequita, Velez, la Villa de Leva, Palma, Unda, Angustura, the great citie of Timana, Tocaima, S. Aguila, Pasto, Juago, the great Citie of Popaian it selfe, Los Remedios, and the rest. If we take the Ports and villages within the Bay of Uraba, in the kingdom or rivers of Dariene, and Caribana, the Cities and townes of S. Juan de Roydas, of Cassaris, of Antiocha, Caramanta, Cali, and Anserma have gold enough to pay the kings part, and are not easily invaded by the way of the Ocean: or if Nombre de Dios and Panama be taken in the Province of Castilla del oro, and [III. 629.] the villages upon the rivers of Cenu & Chagre; Peru hath besides those & besides the magnificent cities of Quito & Lima so many ylands, ports, cities, and mines, as if I should name them with the rest, it would seem incredible to the reader: of all which, because I have written a particular treatise of the West Indies, I wil omit the repetition at this time, seeing that in the said treatise I have anatomized the rest of the sea-townes aswel of Nicaragua, Iucatan, Nueva Espanna, & the ylands, as those of the Inland, & by what meanes they may be best invaded, as far as any meane judgement can comprehend. But I hope it shal appeare that there is a way found to answer every mans longing, a better Indies for her Majestie then the King of Spaine hath any: which if it shal please her highnes to undertake, I shal most willingly end the rest of my daies in folowing the same: if it be left to the spoile & sackage of common persons, if the love & service of so many nations be despised, so great riches, & so mighty an empire refused, I hope her majesty wil yet take my humble desire and my labor therin in gracious part, which, if it had not bin in respect of her highnes future honor & riches, could have laid hands on & ransomed many of the kings & Casiqui of the country, & have had a reasonable proportion of gold for their

A treatise of the West Indies.

redemption: but I have chosen rather to beare the burden of poverty, then reproch, & rather to endure a second travel and the chances therof, then to have defaced an enterprise of so great assurance, untill I knew whether it pleased God to put a disposition in her princely & royal heart either to folow or foreslow the same: I wil therefore leave it to his ordinance that hath only power in all things, & do humbly pray that your honors wil excuse such errors, as without the defence of art, overrun in every part of the folowing discourse, in which I have neither studied phrase, forme nor fashion, that you will be pleased to esteeme mee as your owne (though over dearly bought) and I shall ever remaine ready to do you all honour and service.

W. R.

¶ To the Reader.

BEcause there have bin divers opinions conceived of the gold oare broght from Guiana, and for that an Alderman of London & an officer of her Majesties Mint, hath given out that the same is of no price, I have thought good by the addition of these lines to give answer aswel to the said malicious slander, as to other objections. It is true that while we abode at the yland of Trinidad, I was informed, by an Indian, that not far from the Port, where we ancored, there were found certaine mineral stones which they esteemed to be gold, & were thereunto perswaded the rather for that they had seene both English and Frenchmen gather, & imbark some quantities therof: upon this likelyhood I sent 40. men & gave order that each one should bring a stone of that mine to make trial of its goodnes: which being performed, I assured them at their returne that the same was Marcasite, & of no riches or value: notwithstanding divers, trusting more to their owne sence, then to my opinion, kept of the said Marcasite, and have tried therof since my returne in divers

places. In Guiana it selfe I never saw Marcasite, but al the rocks, mountains, al stones in ye plaines, woods, & by the rivers side are in effect throughshining, and seem marvelous rich, which being tried to be no Marcasite, are the true signes of rich minerals, but are no other then El madre del oro (as the Spaniards terme them) which is the mother of gold, or as it is said by others the scum of gold: of divers sorts of these many of my company brought also into England, every one taking ye fairest for the best, which is not general. For mine own part I did not countermand any mans desire, or opinion, & I could have aforded them litle if I should have denied them the pleasing of their owne fancies therein: but I was resolved that gold must be found either in graines separate from the stone (as it is in most of the rivers in Guiana) or els in a kind of hard stone, which we call The white spar, of which I saw divers hils, & in sundry places, but had neither time nor men, nor instruments fit for labour. Neere unto one of the rivers I found of the said White sparre or flint a very great ledge or banke, which I endevoured to breake by al the meanes I could, because there appeared on the outside some smal graines of of gold, but finding no meane to worke the same upon the upper part, seeking the sides and circuit of the said rocke, I found a clift in the same from whence with daggers, and with the head of an axe, we got out some smal quantitie therof, of which kind of white stone (wherin gold ingendred) we saw divers hils and rocks in every part of Guiana, wherein we traveiled. Of this there have bin many trials, and in London it was first assaid by M. Westwood a refiner dwelling in Woodstreet, and it held after the rate of 12000. or 13000. pounds a tunne. Another sort was afterward tried by M. Bulmar & M. Dimock Assay-master, & it held after the rate of 23000 li. a tunne. There was some of it againe tried by M. Palmer comptroller of the Mint, and M. Dimock in goldsmiths hal, & it held after 26900. li. a tun. There was also at the same time, & by the same persons a trial

made of the dust of the said mine which held 8 li. 6. ounces weight of gold in the 100: there was likewise [III. 630.] at the same time a triall of an image of copper made in Guiana, which held a third part of gold, besides divers trials made in the countrey, & by others in London. But because there came ill with the good, & belike the said Alderman was not presented with the best, it hath pleased him therefore to scandall all the rest, and to deface the enterprize as much as in him lieth. It hath also bene concluded by divers, that if there had bin any such oare in Guiana, and the same discovered, that I would have brought home a greater quantitie thereof: first I was not bound to satisfie any man of the quantitie, but such onely as adventured, if any store had bin returned thereof: but it is very true that had al their mountaines bene of massie gold, it was impossible for us to have made any longer stay to have wrought the same: and whosoever hath seene with what strength of stone the best gold oare is invironed, hee will not thinke it easie to be had out in heapes, and especially by us, who had neither men, instruments, nor time (as it is said before) to performe the same. There were on this discovery no lesse then 100. persons, who can all witnesse, that when we past any branch of the river to view the land within, and staied from our boats but 6. houres, wee were driven to wade to the eyes, at our returne: and if wee attempted the same, the day following it was impossible either to ford it, or to swim it, both by reason of the swiftnesse, and also for that the borders were so pestred with fast woods, as neither boat nor man could find place, either to land or to imbarke: for in June, July, August and September, it is impossible to navigate any of those rivers: for such is the fury of the current, and there are so many trees and woods overflowne, as if any boat but touch upon any tree or stake, it is impossible to save any one person therein: and yer we departed the land it ranne with such swiftnes, as wee drave downe most commonly against the wind, little lesse

than 100. miles a day: Besides our vessels were no other then whirries, one little barge, a small cockboat, and a bad Galiota, which we framed in hast for that purpose at Trinidad, and those little boats had 9. or 10. men a piece, with all their victuals, and armes. It is further true, that we were about 400. miles from our ships, and had bene a moneth from them, which also we left weakly manned in an open road, and had promised our returne in 15. dayes. Others have devised that the same oare was had from Barbary, and that we caried it with us into Guiana: surely the singularitie of that device I doe not well comprehend: for mine owne part, I am not so much in love with these long voyages, as to devise, therby to cozen my selfe, to lie hard, to fare worse, to be subjected to perils, to diseases, to ill savors, to be parched & withered, and withall to sustaine the care & labour of such an enterprize, except the same had more comfort, then the fetching of Marcasite in Guiana, or buying of gold oare in Barbary. But I hope the better sort wil judge me by themselves, & that the way of deceit is not the way of honor or good opinion: I have herein consumed much time, & many crownes, & I had no other respect or desire then to serve her Majestie and my country thereby. If the Spanish nation had bene of like beliefe to these detracters, we should litle have feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we now are daily threatned. But if we now consider of the actions both of Charles the 5. who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa, together with the affaires of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath indangered, how many armies, garisons, & navies he hath and doth mainteine, the great losses which he hath repaired, as in 88. above 100. saile of great ships with their artillery, & that no yere is lesse unfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are devoured, and yet not-

withstanding he beginneth againe like a storme to threaten shipwrack to us all: we shall find that these abilities rise not from the trades of sacks, and Sivil oringes, nor from ought els that either Spaine, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: it is his Indian gold that indangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe, it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into counsels, and setteth bound loyaltie at libertie, in the greatest Monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keepe us from forren enterprizes, & from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion, or by besieging us in Britaine, Ireland, or elsewhere, hee hath then brought the worke of our peril in great forwardnes. Those princes which abound in treasure have great advantages over the rest, if they once constraine them to a defensive war, where they are driven once a yere or oftener to cast lots for their own garments, and from such shal all trades, & entercourse be taken away, to the general losse and impoverishment of the kingdom and common weale so reduced: besides when our men are constrained to fight, it hath not the like hope, as when they are prest & incouraged by the desire of spoile & riches. Farther, it is to be douted how those that in time of victory seeme to affect their neighbor nations, wil remaine after the first view of misfortunes, or il successe; to trust also to the doubtfulnes of a battel, is but a fearefull & uncertaine adventure, seeing therein fortune is as likely to prevaile, as [III. 631.] vertue. It shall not be necessary to alleage all that might bee said, and therefore I will thus conclude, that whatsoever kingdome shalbe inforced to defend it selfe may be compared to a body dangerously diseased, which for a season may be preserved with vulgar medicines, but in a short time, and by litle and litle, the same must needs fall to the ground, & be dissolved. I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my smal power, & perswasion, to advance al those attempts, that might either promise return of profit to our selves, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentifull trades

of the Spanish nation, who in my weake judgement by such a warre were as easily indangered & brought from his powerfulnes, as any prince of Europe, if it be considered from how many kingdomes and nations his revenues are gathered, & those so weake in their owne beings, and so far severed from mutual succour. But because such a preparation and resolution is not to be hoped for in hast, & that the time which our enemies embrace, cannot be had againe to advantage, I wil hope that these provinces, and that Empire now by me discovered shal suffice to inable her Majestie & the whole kingdome, with no lesse quantities of treasure, then the king of Spaine hath in all the Indies East and West, which he possesseth, which if the same be considered and followed, ere the Spaniards enforce the same, and if her Majestie wil undertake it, I wil be contented to lose her highnesse favour & good opinion for ever, and my life withall, if the same be not found rather to exceed, then to equal whatsoever is in this discourse promised or declared. I wil now referre the Reader to the following discourse, with the hope that the perillous and chargeable labours and indevors of such as thereby seeke the profit and honour of her Majestie, and the English nation, shall by men of qualitie and vertue receive such construction, and good acceptance, as themselves would looke to be rewarded withall in the like.

W. R.

¶ The discoverie of Guiana.

ON Thursday the 6. of February in the yere 1595. we departed England, and the Sunday following had sight of the North cape of Spaine, the winde for the most part continuing prosperous: we passed in sight of the Burlings, & the Rocke, and so onwards for the Canaries, and fel with Fuerte ventura the 17 of the same moneth, where we spent two or three dayes, and relieved our com-

panies with some fresh meat. From thence we coasted by the Grand Canaria, & so to Tenerif, and stayed there for the Lions whelpe your Lordships ship, and for Captaine Amyas Preston and the rest. But when after 7. or 8. dayes wee found them not, we departed and directed our course for Trinidad with mine owne ship, and a small barke of captaine Crosses onely (for we had before lost sight of a smal Galego on the coast of Spaine, which came with us from Plimmouth:) we arrived at Trinidad the 22. of March, casting ancker at point Curiapan, which the Spaniards call punta de Gallo, which is situate in 8. degrees or there abouts: we abode there 4. or 5. dayes, & in all that time we came not to the speach of any Indian or Spaniard: on the coast we saw a fire, as we sailed from the point Caroa towards Curiapan, but for feare of the Spaniards none durst come to speake with us. I my selfe coasted it in my barge close abord the shore and landed in every Cove, the better to know the yland, while the ships kept the chanell. From Curiapan after a few dayes we turned up Northeast to recover that place which the Spaniards call Puerto de los Espannoles, and the inhabitants Conquerabia, and as before (revictualing my barge) I left the ships and kept by the shore, the better to come to speach with some of the inhabitants, and also to understand the rivers, watering places, & ports of the yland, which (as it is rudely done) my purpose is to send your Lordship after a few dayes. From Curiapan I came to a port and seat of Indians called Parico, where we found a fresh water river, but saw no people. From thence I rowed to another port, called by the naturals Piche, and by the Spaniards Tierra de Brea: In the way betweene both were divers little brookes of fresh water and one salt river that had store of oisters upon the branches of the trees, and were very salt and well tasted. All their oisters grow upon those boughs and spraies, and not on the ground: the like is commonly seene in other places of the West Indies, and else where. This tree is described by Andrew Thevet in his French

The yle of Trinidad.

Curiapan.

Parico.

Tierra de Brea.

Antarctique, and the forme figured in the booke as a plant very strange, and by Plinie in his 12. booke of his naturall historie. But in this yland, as also in Guiana there are very many of them.

At this point called Tierra de Brea or Piche there is that abundance of stone pitch, that all the ships of the world may be therewith loden from thence, and we made trial of it in trimming our shippes to be most excellent good, and melteth not with the Sunne as the pitch of Norway, and therefore for shippes trading the South parts [III. 632.] very profitable. From thence wee went to the mountaine foote called Anniperima, and so passing the river Carone on which the Spanish Citie was seated, we met with our ships at Puerto de los Espannolles or Conquerabia.

This yland of Trinidad hath the forme of a sheephooke, and is but narrow, the North part is very mountainous, the soile is very excellent and will beare suger, ginger, or any other commoditie that the Indies yeeld. It hath store of deare, wilde porks, fruits, fish and foule: it hath also for bread sufficient maiz, cassavi, and of those rootes and fruites which are common every where in the West Indies. It hath divers beastes which the Indies have not: the Spaniards confessed that they found graines of golde in some of the rivers, but they having a purpose to enter Guiana (the Magazin of all rich mettals) cared not to spend time in the search thereof any further. This yland is called by the people thereof Cairi, and in it are divers nations: those about Parico are called Iaio, those at Punta de Carao are of the Arwacas, and betweene Carao and Curiapan they are called Salvajos, betwene Carao and Punta de Galera are the Nepojos, and those about the Spanish citie terme themselves Carinepagotes: Of the rest of the nations, and of other ports and rivers I leave to speake here, being impertinent to my purpose, and meane to describe them as they are situate in the particular plot and description of the yland, three parts whereof I coasted with my barge, that I might the better describe it.

Meeting with the ships at Puerta de los Espannoles, we found at the landing place a company of Spaniards who kept a guard at the descent, and they offering a signe of peace, I sent Captaine Whiddon to speake with them, whom afterward to my great griefe I left buried in the said yland after my returne from Guiana, being a man most honest and valiant. The Spaniards seemed to be desirous to trade with us, and to enter into termes of peace, more for doubt of their owne strength then for ought else, and in the ende upon pledge, some of them came abord: the same evening there stale also abord us in a small Canoa two Indians, the one of them being a Casique or Lord of the people called Cantyman, who had the yeere before bene with Captaine Whiddon, and was of his acquaintance. By this Cantyman wee understood what strength the Spaniards had, howe farre it was to their Citie, and of Don Antonio de Berreo the governour, who was said to be slaine in his second attempt of Guiana, but was not.

The death of Captaine Whiddon.

While we remained at Puerto de los Espannoles some Spaniards came abord us to buy linnen of the company, and such other things as they wanted, and also to view our ships and company, all which I entertained kindly and feasted after our maner: by meanes whereof I learned of one and another as much of the estate of Guiana as I could, or as they knew, for those poore souldiers having bene many yeeres without wine, a few draughts made them merrie, in which mood they vaunted of Guiana and of the riches thereof, and all what they knewe of the wayes and passages, my selfe seeming to purpose nothing lesse then the enterance or discoverie thereof, but bred in them an opinion that I was bound onely for the reliefe of those English which I had planted in Virginia, whereof the bruite was come among them; which I had performed in my returne, if extremitie of weather had not forst me from the said coast.

I found occasions of staying in this place for two causes: the one was to be revenged of Berreo, who the yere before 1594. had betraied eight of Captaine Whiddons men, and tooke them while he departed from them to seeke the Edward Bonaventure, which arrived at Trinidad the day before from the East Indies: in whose absence Berreo sent a Canoa abord the pinnesse onely with Indians and dogs inviting the company to goe with them into the woods to kill a deare, who like wise men in the absence of their Captaine followed the Indians, but were no sooner one harquebuze shot from the shore, but Berreos souldiers lying in ambush had them al, notwithstanding that he had given his word to Captaine Whiddon that they should take water and wood safely: the other cause of my stay was, for that by discourse with the Spaniards I dayly learned more and more of Guiana, of the rivers and passages, and of the enterprise of Berreo, by what meanes or fault he failed, and how he meant to prosecute the same.

8 *Englishmen betrayed by Antony Berreo.*

While wee thus spent the time I was assured by another Casique of the North side of the yland, that Berreo had sent to Margarita and Cumana for souldiers, meaning to have given mee a cassado at parting, if it had bene possible. For although he had given order through all the yland that no Indian should come abord to trade with me upon paine of hanging & quartering, (having executed two of them for the same, which I afterwards founde) yet every night there came some with most lamentable complaints of his crueltie, how he had divided the yland and given to every souldier a part, that hee made the ancient Casiques which were Lords of the countrey to be their slaves, that he kept them in chaines, and dropped their naked bodies with burning bacon, and such other torments, which I found afterwards to be true: for in the city after I entred the same there were 5. of ye lords or litle kings (which they cal Casiques in the West Indies) in one chaine

almost dead of famine, and wasted with torments: these [III. 633.] are called in their owne language Acarewana, and now of late since English, French and Spanish are come among them, they call themselves Capitaines, because they perceive that the chiefest of every ship is called by that name. Those five Capitaines in the chaine were called Wannawanare, Carroaori, Maquarima, Tarroopanama, and Aterima. So as both to be revenged of the former wrong, as also considering that to enter Guiana by small boats, to depart 400. or 500. miles from my ships, and to leave a garison in my backe interrested in the same enterprize, who also dayly expected supplies out of Spaine, I should have savoured very much of the asse: and therefore taking a time of most advantage I set upon the Corps du guard in the evening, and having put them to the sword, sent Captaine Calfield onwards with 60. souldiers, and my selfe followed with 40. more and so tooke their new City which they called S. Joseph by breake of day: they abode not any fight after a fewe shot, and all being dismissed but onely Berreo and his companion, I brought them with me abord, and at the instance of the Indians, I set their new citie of S. Joseph on fire.

The Citie of S. Joseph taken. Antony Berreo taken prisoner.

The same day arrived Captaine George Gifford with your Lordships ship, and Captaine Keymis whom I lost on the coast of Spaine, with the Galego, and in them divers gentlemen and others, which to our little armie was a great comfort and supply.

We then hasted away towards our purposed discovery, and first I called all the Captaines of the yland together that were enemies to the Spaniards; for there were some which Berreo had brought out of other countreys, and planted there to eate out and wast those that were naturall of the place, and by my Indian interpreter, which I caried out of England, I made them understand that I was the servant of a Queene, who was the great Casique of the North, and a virgine, and had more Casiqui under her then there were trees in

that yland: that shee was an enemie to the Castellani in respect of their tyrannie and oppression, and that she delivered all such nations about her, as were by them oppressed, and having freed all the coast of the Northren world from their servitude, had sent mee to free them also, and withall to defend the countrey of Guiana from their invasion and conquest. I shewed them her Majesties picture which they so admired and honoured, as it had bene easie to have brought them idolatrous thereof.

The like and a more large discourse I made to the rest of the nations both in my passing to Guiana, and to those of the borders, so as in that part of the world her Majestie is very famous and admirable, whom they now call Ezrabeta Cassipuna Aquerewana, which is as much as Elizabeth, the great princesse or greatest commander. This done we left Puerto de los Espannoles, and returned to Curiapan, and having Berreo my prisoner I gathered from him as much of Guiana as hee knew.

This Berreo is a gentleman wel descended, and had long served the Spanish king in Millain, Naples, the Low countreis and elsewhere, very valiant and liberall, and a gentleman of great assurednes, and of a great heart: I used him according to his estate and worth in all things I could, according to the small meanes I had.

I sent Captaine Whiddon the yeere before to get what knowledge he could of Guiana, and the end of my journey at this time was to discover and enter the same, but my intelligence was farre from trueth, for the countrey is situate above 600. English miles further from the Sea, then I was made beleeve it had bin, which afterward understanding to be true by Berreo, I kept it from the knowledge of my company, who else would never have bene brought to attempt the same: of which 600. miles I passed 400. leaving my ships so farre from mee at ancker in the Sea, which was more of desire to performe that discovery, then of reason, especially having

Sir W. Ralegh passed 400. miles toward Guiana.

such poore and weake vessels to transport our selves in; for in the bottom of an old Galego which I caused to be fashioned like a galley, and in one barge, two whirries, and a shipboat of the Lions whelpe, we caried 100. persons and their victuals for a moneth in the same, being al driven to lie in the raine and weather, in the open aire, in the burning Sunne, and upon the hard bords, and to dresse our meat, and to cary all maner of furniture in them, wherewith they were so pestered and unsavory, that what with victuals being most fish, with wette clothes of so many men thrust together, and the heat of the Sunne, I will undertake there was never any prison in England, that could bee found more unsavorie and lothsome, especially to my selfe, who had for many yeeres before bene dieted and cared for in a sort farre more differing.

If Captaine Preston had not bene perswaded that he should have come too late to Trinidad to have found us there (for the moneth was expired which I promised to tary for him there ere hee coulde recover the coast of Spaine) but that it had pleased God hee might have joyned with us, and that we had entred the countrey but some ten dayes sooner ere the Rivers were overflowen, wee had adventured either to have gone to the great Citie of Manoa, or at least taken so many of the other Cities [III. 634.] and townes neerer at hand, as would have made a royall returne: but it pleased not God so much to favour mee at this time: if it shall be my lot to prosecute the same, I shall willingly spend my life therein, and if any else shalbe enabled thereunto, and conquere the same, I assure him thus much, he shall perfourme more then ever was done in Mexico by Cortez, or in Peru by Pizarro, whereof the one conquered the Empire of Mutezuma, the other of Guascar, and Atabalipa, and whatsoever prince shall possesse it, that Prince shall be Lord of more golde, and of a more beautifull Empire, and of more Cities and people, then either the King of Spaine, or the great Turke.

But because there may arise many doubts, and how this Empire of Guiana is become so populous, and adorned with so many great Cities, townes, temples, and treasures, I thought good to make it knowen, that the Emperour now reigning is descended from those magnificent princes of Peru, of whose large territories, of whose policies, conquests, edifices, and riches Pedro de Cieza, Francisco Lopez, and others have written large discourses: for when Francisco Pizarro, Diego Almagro and others conquered the said Empire of Peru, and had put to death Atabalipa sonne to Guaynacapa, which Atabalipa had formerly caused his eldest brother Guascar to bee slaine, one of the yonger sonnes of Guaynacapa fled out of Peru, and tooke with him many thousands of those souldiers of the Empire called Orejones, and with those and many others which followed him, hee vanquished all that tract and valley of America which is situate betweene the great river of Amazones, and Baraquan, otherwise called Orenoque and Marannon.

The Empire of Guiana is directly East from Peru towards the Sea, and lieth under the Equinoctial line, and it hath more abundance of golde then any part of Peru, and as many or moe great Cities then ever Peru had when it flourished most: it is governed by the same lawes, and the Emperour and people observe the same religion, and the same forme and policies in government as were used in Peru, not differing in any part: and I have bene assured by such of the Spaniards as have seene Manoa the Imperial Citie of Guiana, which the Spaniards call El Dorado, that for the greatnesse, for the riches, and for the excellent seat, it farre exceedeth any of the world, at least of so much of the world as is knowen to the Spanish nation: it is founded upon a lake of salt water of 200. leagues long like unto Mare Caspium. And if we compare it to that of Peru, & but read the report of Francisco Lopez and others, it will seeme more then credible: and because we may judge of the one by the other, I thought good to insert part of the 120. Chapter of

The statelines of Manoa.

Fran. Lopez de Gomara hist. gen. cap. 120.

Lopez in his generall historie of the Indies, wherein he describeth the Court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, ancestour to the Emperour of Guiana, whose very wordes are these. Todo el servicio de su casa, mesa, y cozina, era de oro, y de plata, y quando menos de plata, y cobre por mas rezio. Tenia en su recamara estatuas huecas de oro, que parecian gigantes, y las figuras al propio, y tamanno de quantos animales, aves, arboles, y yervas produze la tierra, y de quantos peces cria la mar y aguas de sus reynos. Tenia assi mesmo sogas, costales, cestas, y troxes de oro y plata, rimeros de palos de oro, que pareciessen lenna raiada para quemar. En fin no avia cosa en su tierra, que no la tuviesse de oro contrahecha: y aun dizen, que tenian los Ingas un vergel en una Isla cerca de la Puna, donde se yuan a holgar, quando querian mar, que tenia la ortaliza, las flores, y arboles de oro y plata, invencion y grandeza hasta entonces nunca vista. Allende de todo esto tenia infinitissima cantitad de plata, y oro por labrar en el Cuzco, que se perdio por la muerte de Guascar, ca los Indios lo escondieron, viendo que los Espannoles se lo tomavan, y embiavan a Espanna. That is, All the vessels of his house, table and kitchin were of gold and silver, and the meanest of silver and copper for strength and hardnesse of metall. He had in his wardrobe hollow statues of gold which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignesse of all the beasts, birds, trees, and hearbes, that the earth bringeth foorth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. He had also ropes, budgets, chestes and troughs of golde and silver, heapes of billets of gold, that seemed wood marked out to burne. Finally, there was nothing in his countrey, whereof he had not the counterfait in gold: Yea and they say, The Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an yland neere Puna, where they went to recreat themselves, when they would take the aire of the Sea, which had all kinde of garden-hearbs, flowers and trees of golde and silver, an invention, and magnificence till then never seene. Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie

of silver and golde unwrought in Cuzco which was lost by the death of Guascar, for the Indians hid it, seeing that the Spaniards tooke it, and sent it into Spaine.

And in the 117. chapter Francisco Pizarro caused the gold and silver of Atabalipa to be weyed after he had taken it, which Lopez setteth downe in these words following. Hallaron cinquenta y dos mil marcos de buena plata, y un millon y trezientos y veinte y seys mil, y quinientos pesos de oro, Which is: They found fiftie and two thousand markes of good silver, and one million, and three hundred twenty and sixe thousand and five hundred pezos of golde. [III. 635.]

Now although these reports may seeme strange, yet if we consider the many millions which are dayly brought out of Peru into Spaine, wee may easily beleeve the same: for we finde that by the abundant treasure of that countrey the Spanish king vexeth all the princes of Europe, and is become, in a few yeeres, from a poore king of Castile, the greatest monarch of this part of the world, and likely every day to increase, if other princes forslow the good occasions offered, and suffer him to adde this empire to the rest, which by farre exceedeth all the rest: if his golde now indanger us, hee will then be unresistable. Such of the Spanyards as afterward endevoured the conquest thereof (whereof there have bene many, as shall be declared hereafter) thought that this Inga (of whom this emperour now living is descended) tooke his way by the river of Amazones, by that branch which is called Papamene: for by that way followed Orellana (by the commandement of Gonzalo Pizarro, in the yere 1542) whose name the river also beareth this day, which is also by others called Marannon, although Andrew Thevet doeth affirme that betweene Marannon and Amazones there are 120 leagues: but sure it is that those rivers have one head and beginning, and the Marannon, which Thevet describeth, is but a branch of Amazones or Orellana, of which I will speake more in another place. It was attempted by Ordas; but it is now little lesse then 70

yeres since that Diego Ordas, a knight of the order of Saint Iago attempted the same: and it was in the yeere 1542 that Orellana discovered the river of Amazones; but the first that ever saw Manoa was Juan Martinez master of the munition to Ordas. At a port called Morequito in Guiana there lieth at this day a great anker of Ordas his ship; and this port is some 300 miles within the land, upon the great river of Orenoque.

Juan Martinez the first that ever saw Manoa.

I rested at this port foure dayes: twenty dayes after I left the ships at Curiapan. The relation of this Martinez (who was the first that discovered Manoa) his successe and ende are to bee seene in the Chancery of Saint Juan de Puerto rico, wherof Berreo had a copy, which appeared to be the greatest incouragement aswell to Berreo as to others that formerly attempted the discovery and conquest. Orellana after he failed of the discovery of Guiana by the sayd river of Amazones, passed into Spaine, and there obteined a patent of the king for the invasion and conquest, but died by sea about the Islands, and his fleet severed by tempest, the action for that time proceeded not. Diego Ordas followed the enterprise, and departed Spaine with 600 souldiers, and 30 horse, who arriving on the coast of Guiana, was slaine in a mutiny, with the most part of such as favoured him, as also of the rebellious part, insomuch as his ships perished, and few or none returned, neither was it certeinly knowen what became of the sayd Orgas, untill Berreo found the anker of his ship in the river of Orenoque; but it was supposed, and so it is written by Lopez, that he perished on the seas, and of other writers diversly conceived and reported. And hereof it came that Martines entred so farre within the land, and arrived at that city of Inga the emperour; for it chanced that while Ordas with his army rested at the port of Morequito (who was either the first or second that attempted Guiana) by some negligence, the whole store of powder provided for the service was set on fire; and Martinez having the chiefe charge, was condemned by the Generall Ordas to be executed foorthwith:

Diego de Ordas went foorth with 600 souldiers 1531.

Fran. Lopez hist. gen. de las Ind. cap. 87.

Martinez being much favoured by the souldiers, had all the meanes possible procured for his life; but it could not be obteined in other sort then this: That he should be set into a canoa alone without any victuall, onely with his armes, and so turned loose into the great river: but it pleased God that the canoa was caried downe the streame, and that certeine of the Guianians mette it the same evening: and having not at any time seene any Christian, nor any man of that colour, they caried Martinez into the land to be woondred at, and so from towne to towne, untill he came to the great city of Manoa, the seat and residence of Inga the emperour. The emperour after he had beheld him, knew him to be a Christian (for it was not long before that his brethren Guascar and Atabalipa were vanquished by the Spanyards in Peru) and caused him to be lodged in his palace, and well enterteined. Hee lived seven moneths in Manoa, but was not suffered to wander into the countrey any where. He was also brought thither all the way blindfold, led by the Indians, untill he came to the entrance of Manoa it selfe, and was foureteene or fifteene dayes in the passage. He avowed at his death that he entred the city at Noon, and then they uncovered his face, and that he travelled all that day till night thorow the city, and the next day from Sun rising to Sun setting yer he came to the palace of Inga. After that Martinez had lived seven moneths in Manoa, and began to understand the language of the countrey, Inga asked him whether he desired to returne into his owne countrey, or would willingly abide with him. But Martinez not desirous to stay, obteined the favour of Inga to depart: with whom he sent divers Guianians to conduct him to the river of Orenoque, all loden with as much golde as they could cary, which he gave to Martinez at his departure: but when he was arrived neere the rivers side, the borderers which are called Orenoqueponi robbed him and his Guianians of all the treasure (the borderers being at that time at warres, which Inga had not conquered) save only of two

The great city of Manoa or El Dorado.

[III. 636.]

great bottels of gourds, which were filled with beads of golde curiously wrought, which those Orenoqueponi thought had bene no other thing then his drinke or meat, or graine for food, with which Martinez had liberty to passe: and so in canoas hee fell downe from the river of Orenoque to Trinidad, and from thence to Margarita, and also to Saint Juan de puerto rico, where remaining a long time for passage into Spaine, he died. In the time of his extreme sicknesse, and when he was without hope of life, receiving the Sacrament at the hands of his Confessor, he delivered these things, with the relation of his travels, and also called for his calabazas or gourds of the golde beads which he gave to the church and friers to be prayed for. This Martinez was he that Christened the city of Manoa by the name of El Dorado, and as Berreo informed mee, upon this occasion: Those Guianians, and also the borderers, and all other in that tract which I have seene, are marvellous great drunkards; in which vice, I thinke no nation can compare with them: and at the times of their solemne feasts, when the emperour carowseth with his captaines, tributaries, and governours, the maner is thus: All those that pledge him are first stripped naked, and their bodies anointed all over with a kind of white balsamum (by them called curca) of which there is great plenty, and yet very deare amongst them, and it is of all other the most precious, whereof wee have had good experience: when they are anointed all over, certeine servants of the emperour, having prepared golde made into fine powder, blow it thorow hollow canes upon their naked bodies, untill they be all shining from the foot to the head: and in this sort they sit drinking by twenties, and hundreds, and continue in drunkennesse sometimes sixe or seven dayes together. The same is also confirmed by a letter written into Spaine, which was intercepted, which M. Robert Duddeley tolde me he had seene. Upon this sight, and for the abundance of golde which he saw in the city, the images of golde in their temples, the plates, armours, and shields of gold

The author of the name of El Dorado.

The substance of this report is in the end of the navigation of the great river of Marannon, written by Gonzalo Fernando de Oviedo to cardinall Bembo. Ramusio. Vol. 3. fol. 416.

Sir Robert Duddeley.

which they use in the warres, he called it El Dorado. After the death of Ordas and Martinez, and after Orellana, who was imployed by Gonzalo Pizarro, one Pedro de Osua a knight of Navarre attempted Guiana, taking his way from Peru, and built his brigandines upon a river called Oia, which riseth to the Southward of Quito, and is very great. This river falleth into Amazones, by which Osua with his companies descended, and came out of that province which is called Mutylonez: and it seemeth to mee that this empire is reserved for her Majesty and the English nation, by reason of the hard successe which all these and other Spanyards found in attempting the same, whereof I will speake briefly, though impertinent in some sort to my purpose. This Pedro de Osua had among his troups a Biscain, called Agiri, a man meanly borne, who bare no other office then a sergeant or alferez: but after certeine moneths, when the souldiers were grieved with travels, and consumed with famine, and that no entrance could be found by the branches or body of Amazones, this Agiri raised a mutiny, of which hee made himselfe the head, and so prevailed, as he put Osua to the sword, and all his followers, taking on him the whole charge and commandement, with a purpose not onely to make himselfe emperour of Guiana, but also of Peru, & of all that side of the West Indies: he had of his party seven hundred souldiers, and of those many promised to draw in other captaines and companies, to deliver up townes and forts in Peru: but neither finding by ye said river any passage into Guiana, nor any possibility to returne towards Peru by the same Amazones, by reason that ye descent of the river made so great a current, he was inforced to disemboque at the mouth of the sayd Amazones, which can not be lesse then a thousand leagues from the place where they imbarked: from thence he coasted the land till he arrived at Margarita to the North of Mompatar, which is at this day called Puerto de Tyranno, for that he there slew Don Juan de villa Andreda, governour of Margarita, who was father to Don

Reade Josephus Acosta.

Juan Sarmiento, governor of Margarita when sir John Burgh landed there, and attempted the Island. Agiri put to the sword all other in the Island that refused to be of his party, and tooke with him certeine Simerones, and other desperate companions. From thence he went to Cumana, and there slew the governour, and dealt in all as at Margarita: hee spoiled all the coast of Caracas, and the province of Venezuela, and of Rio de la hacha; and as I remember, it was the same yere that sir John Hawkins sailed to Saint Juan de Ullua in the Jesus of Lubeck: for himselfe tolde me that he met with such a one upon the coast that rebelled, and had sailed downe all the river of Amazones. Agiri from thence landed about Sancta Marta, and sacked it also, putting to death so many as refused to be his followers, purposing to invade Nuevo reyno de Granada, and to sacke Pamplon, Merida, Lagrita, Tunxa, and the rest of the cities of Nuevo reyno, and from thence againe to enter Peru: but in a fight in the sayd Nuevo reyno he was overthrowen, and finding no way to escape, he first put to the sword his owne children, foretelling them that they should not live to be defamed or úpbraided by the Spanyards after his death, who would have termed them the children of a traitour or tyrant; and that sithence hee could not make them princes, hee would yet deliver them from shame and reproch. These were the ends and tragedies of Ordas, Martinez, Orellana; Ozua, and Agiri.

The voyage of sir John Burgh to the West Indies.

[III. 637.]

Also soone after Ordas followed Jeronimo Ortal de Saragosa with 130 souldiers, who failing his entrance by sea, was cast with the current on the coast of Paria, & peopled about S. Miguel de Neveri. It was then attempted by Don Pedro de Silva, a Portugues of the family of Ruigomes de Silva, and by the favour which Ruigomes had with the king, he was set out, but he also shot wide of the marke; for being departed from Spaine with his fleet, he entered by Marannon and Amazones, where by the nations of the river, and by the Amazones hee was utterly overthrowen, and himselfe and all his

1534. *Gomar. cap.* 84. & 86.

Don Pedro de Silva.

armie defeated, onely seven escaped, and of those but two returned.

Pedro Hernandez de Serpa.

After him came Pedro Hernandez de Serpa, and landed at Cumaná in the West Indies, taking his journey by land towards Orenoque, which may be some 120 leagues: but yer he came to the borders of the sayd river, hee was set upon by a nation of the Indians called Wikiri, and overthrowen in such sort, that of 300 souldiers, horsemen, many Indians, and Negros, there returned but 18. Others affirme, that he was defeated in the very entrance of Guiana, at the first civill towne of the empire called Macureguarai. Captaine Preston in taking S. Iago de Leon (which was by him and his companies very resolutely performed, being a great towne, and farre within the land) held a gentleman prisoner, who died in his ship, that was one of the company of Hernandez de Serpa, and saved among those that escaped, who witnessed what opinion is held among the Spanyards thereabouts of the great riches of Guiana, and El Dorado the city of Inga. Another Spanyard was brought aboord me by captaine Preston, who told me in the hearing of himselfe and divers other gentlemen, that he met with Berreos campe-master at Caracas, when he came from the borders of Guiana, and that he saw with him forty of most pure plates of golde curiously wrought, and swords of Guiana decked and inlayed with gold, feathers garnished with golde, and divers rarities which he caried to the Spanish king.

Don Gonzales Ximenes de Casada.

After Hernandez de Serpa, it was undertaken by the Adelantado, Don Gonzales Ximenes de Casada, who was one of the chiefest in the conquest of Nuevo reino, whose daughter and heire Don Antonio de Berreo maried. Gonzales sought the passage also by the river called Papamene, which riseth by Quito in Peru, & runneth Southeast 100 leagues, and then falleth into Amazones, but he also failing the entrance, returned with the losse of much labour and cost. I tooke one captaine George a Spanyard that followed Gonzales in this enterprise.

Gonzales gave his daughter to Berreo, taking his oth & honour to follow the enterprise to the last of his substance and life, who since, as he hath sworne to me, hath spent 300000 ducats in the same, & yet never could enter so far into the land as my selfe with that poore troupe or rather a handfull of men, being in all about 100 gentlemen, souldiers, rowers, boat-keepers, boyes, & of all sorts: neither could any of the fore-passed undertakers, nor Berreo himselfe, discover the countrey, till now lately by conference with an ancient king called Carapana, he got the true light thereof: for Berreo came about 1500 miles yer he understood ought, or could finde any passage or entrance into any part thereof, yet he had experience of al these forenamed, and divers others, and was perswaded of their errors and mistakings. Berreo sought it by the river Cassamar, which falleth into a great river called Pato: Pato falleth into Meta, and Meta into Baraquan, which is also called Orenoque. *Antonio Berreo.*

He tooke his journey from Nuevo reyno de Granada where he dwelt, having the inheritance of Gonzales Ximenes in those parts: he was followed with 700 horse, he drave with him 1000 head of cattell, he had also many women, Indians, and slaves. How all these rivers crosse and encounter, how the countrey lieth and is bordered, the passage of Ximines and Berreo, mine owne discovery, and the way that I entred, with all the rest of the nations and rivers, your lordship shall receive in a large Chart or Map, which I have not yet finished, and which I shall most humbly pray your lordship to secret, and not to suffer it to passe your owne hands; for by a draught thereof all may be prevented by other nations: for I know it is this very yeere sought by the French, although by the way that they now take, I feare it not much. It was also tolde me yer I departed England, that Villiers the admirall was in preparation for the planting of Amazones, to which river the French have made divers voyages, and returned much golde, and other rarities. I *A new & rich trade of the French to the river of Amazones.*

spake with a captaine of a French ship that came from thence, his ship riding in Falmouth the same yere that my ships came first from Virginia.

There was another this yeere in Helford that also came from thence, and had bene foureteene moneths at an anker in Amazones, which were both very rich. [III. 638.] Although, as I am perswaded, Guiana cannot be entred that way, yet no doubt the trade of gold from thence passeth by branches of rivers into the river of Amazones, and so it doth on every hand far from the countrey it selfe; for those Indians of Trinidad have plates of golde from Guiana, and those canibals of Dominica which dwell in the Islands by which our ships passe yerely to the West Indies, also the Indians of Paria, those Indians called Tucaris, Chochi, Apotomios, Cumanagotos, and all those other nations inhabiting nere about the mountaines that run from Paria thorow the province of Venesuela, and in Maracapana, and the canibals of Guanipa, the Indians called Assawai, Coaca, Aiai, and the rest (all which shall be described in my description as they are situate) have plates of golde of Guiana. And upon the river of Amazones, Thevet writeth that the people weare croissants of golde, for of that forme the Guianians most commonly make them: so as from Dominica to Amazones, which is above 250 leagues, all the chiefe Indians in all parts weare of those plates of Guiana. Undoubtedly those that trade Amazones returne much golde, which (as is aforesayd) commeth by trade from Guiana, by some branch of a river that falleth from the countrey into Amazones, and either it is by the river which passeth by the nations called Tisnados, or by Carepuna. I made inquiry amongst the most ancient and best travelled of the Orenoqueponi, and I had knowledge of all the rivers betweene Orenoque & Amazones, and was very desirous to understand the truth of those warlike women, because of some it is beleeved, of others not. And though I digresse from my purpose, yet I will set downe that which hath bene

delivered me for trueth of those women, & I spake with a casique or lord of people, that told me he had bene in the river, and beyond it also. The nations of these women are on the South side of the river in the provinces of Topago, and their chiefest strengths and retracts are in the Islands situate on the South side of the entrance some 60 leagues within the mouth of the sayd river. The memories of the like women are very ancient aswell in Africa as in Asia: In Africa those that had Medusa for queene: others in Scithia nere the rivers of Tanais and Thermodon: we finde also that Lampedo & Marthesia were queenes of the Amazones: in many histories they are verified to have bene, and in divers ages and provinces: but they which are not far from Guiana doe accompany with men but once in a yere, and for the time of one moneth, which I gather by their relation, to be in April: and that time all kings of the borders assemble, and queenes of the Amazones; and after the queenes have chosen, the rest cast lots for their Valentines. This one moneth, they feast, dance, and drinke of their wines in abundance; and the Moone being done, they all depart to their owne provinces. If they conceive, and be delivered of a sonne, they returne him to the father; if of a daughter they nourish it, and reteine it: and as many as have daughters send unto the begetters a present; all being desirous to increase their owne sex and kind: but that they cut off the right dug of the brest, I doe not finde to be true. It was farther tolde me, that if in these warres they tooke any prisoners that they used to accompany with those also at what time soever, but in the end for certeine they put them to death: for they are sayd to be very cruell and bloodthirsty, especially to such as offer to invade their territories. These Amazones have likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recover by exchange chiefly for a kinde of greene stones, which the Spanyards call Piedras hijadas, & we use for spleene

The seat of the Amazones.

stones: and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them. Of these I saw divers in Guiana: and commonly every king or casique hath one, which their wives for the most part weare; and they esteeme them as great jewels.

But to returne to the enterprise of Bereo, who (as I have sayd) departed from Nuevo reyno with 700 horse, besides the provisions above rehearsed, he descended by the river called Cassanar, which riseth in Nuevo reyno out of the mountaines by the city of Tuvia, from which mountaine also springeth Pato; both which fall into the great river of Meta: and Meta riseth from a mountaine joyning to Pamplon in the same Nuevo reyno de Granada. These, as also Guaiare, which issueth out of the mountaines by Timana, fall all into Baraquan, and are but of his heads; for at their comming together they lose their names; and Baraquan farther downe is also rebaptized by the name of Orenoque. On the other side of the city and hilles of Timana riseth Rio grande, which falleth in the sea by Sancta Marta. By Cassonar first, and so into Meta, Berreo passed, keeping his horsemen on the banks, where the countrey served them for to march, and where otherwise, he was driven to imbarke them in boats which he builded for the purpose, and so came with the current downe the river of Meta, and so into Baraquan. After he entred that great & mighty river, he began dayly to lose of his companies both men and horse; for it is in many places violently swift, and hath forcible eddies, many sands, and divers Islands sharpe pointed with rocks: but after one whole yeere, journeying for the most part by river, and the rest by land, he grew dayly to fewer numbers; for both by sicknesse, and by encountring with the people of those regions, thorow which he travelled, his companies were much wasted, especially [III. 639.] by divers encounters with the Amapaians: and in all this time hee never could learne of any passage into

Guiana, nor any newes or fame thereof, untill he came to a further border of the sayd Amapaia, eight dayes journey from the river Caroli, which was the furthest river that he entred. Among those of Amapaia, Guiana was famous, but few of these people accosted Berreo, or would trade with him the first three moneths of the six, which he sojourned there. This Amapaia is also marvellous rich in golde (as both Berreo confessed and those of Guiana with whom I had most conference) and is situate upon Orenoque also. In this countrey Berreo lost 60 of his best souldiers, and most of all his horse that remained in his former yeeres travell: but in the end, after divers encounters with those nations, they grew to peace; and they presented Berreo wth tenne images of fine golde among divers other plates and croissants, which, as he sware to me & divers other gentlemen, were so curiously wrought, as he had not seene the like either in Italy, Spaine, or the Low-countreys: & he was resolved, that when they came to the hands of the Spanish king, to whom he had sent them by his campmaster, they would appeare very admirable, especially being wrought by such a nation as had no yron instruments at all nor any of those helps which our goldsmiths have to worke withall. The particular name of the people in Amapaia which gave him these pieces, are called Anebas, and the river of Orenoque at that place is above 12 English miles broad, which may be from his out fall into the sea 700 or 800 miles.

This province of Amapaia is a very low and a marish ground nere the river; and by reason of the red water which issueth out in small branches thorow the fenny and boggy ground, there breed divers poisonfull wormes and serpents; and the Spanyards not suspecting, nor in any sort foreknowing the danger, were infected with a grievous kinde of fluxe by drinking thereof; and even the very horses poisoned therwith: insomuch as at the end of the 6 moneths, that they abode there,

of all their troups, there were not left above 120 souldiers, & neither horse nor cattell: for Berreo hoped to have found Guiana by 1000 miles nerer then it fel out to be in the end: by meanes whereof they susteined much want and much hunger, oppressed with grievous diseases, and all the miseries that could be imagined. I demanded of those in Guiana that had travelled Amapaia, how they lived with that tawny or red water when they travelled thither: and they tolde me that after the Sun was neere the middle of the skie, they used to fill their pots and pitchers with that water, but either before that time, or towards the setting of the Sun it was dangerous to drinke of, and in the night strong poison. I learned also of divers other rivers of that nature among them, which were also (while the Sun was in the Meridian) very safe to drinke, and in the morning, evening, and night woonderfull dangerous and infective. From this province Berreo hasted away assoone as the Spring and beginning of Summer appeared, and sought his entrance on the borders of Orenoque on the South side; but there ran a ledge of so high and impassable mountaines, as he was not able by any meanes to march over them, continuing from the East sea into which Orenoque falleth, even to Quito in Peru: neither had he meanes to cary victuall or munition over those craggie, high, and fast hilles, being all woody, & those so thicke and spiny, & so full of prickles, thornes, and briers, as it is impossible to creepe thorow them: hee had also neither friendship among the people, nor any interpreter to perswade or treat with them: and more, to his disadvantage, the casiques and kings of Amapaia had given knowledge of his purpose to the Guianians, and that he sought to sacke and conquer the empire, for the hope of their so great abundance and quantities of golde: he passed by the mouthes of many great rivers, which fell into Orenoque both from the North and South, which I forbeare to name for tediousnesse, and

because they are more pleasing in describing then reading.

Many great rivers falling into Orenoque.

Berreo affirmed that there fell an hundred rivers into Orenoque from the North and South, whereof the least was as big as Rio grande, that passed betweene Popayan and Nuevo reyno de Granada (Rio grande being esteemed one of the renowmed rivers in all the West Indies, and numbred among the great rivers of the world:) but he knew not the names of any of these, but Caroli onely; neither from what nations they descended, neither to what provinces they led; for he had no meanes to discourse with the inhabitants at any time: neither was he curious in these things, being utterly unlearned, and not knowing the East from the West. But of all these I got some knowledge, and of many more, partly by mine owne travell, and the rest by conference: of some one I learned one, of others the rest, having with me an Indian that spake many languages, and that of Guiana naturally. I sought out all the aged men, and such as were greatest travellers, and by the one and the other I came to understand the situations, the rivers, the kingdomes from the East sea to the borders of Peru, and from Orenoque Southward as farre as Amazones or Marannon, and the religions of Maria Tamball, & of all the kings of provinces, and captaines of townes and villages, how they stood in tearmes of peace or warre, and which were friends or [III. 640.] enemies the one with the other, without which there can be neither entrance nor conquest in those parts, nor elsewhere: for by the dissention betweene Guascar and Atabalipa, Pizarro conquered Peru, and by the hatred that the Tlaxcallians bare to Mutezuma, Cortez was victorious over Mexico; without which both the one and the other had failed of their enterprise, and of the great honour and riches which they atteined unto.

Now Berreo began to grow into dispaire, and looked for no other successe then his predecessor in this enter-

The province of Emeria inhabited by gentle Indians.

prise, untill such time as hee arrived at the province of Emeria towards the East sea and mouth of the river, where he found a nation of people very favourable, and the countrey full of all maner of victuall.

Carapana.

The king of this land is called Carapana, a man very wise, subtill, and of great experience, being little lesse then an hundred yeeres olde: in his youth he was sent by his father into the Island of Trinidad, by reason of civill warre among themselves, and was bred at a village in that island, called Parico; at that place in his youth hee had seene many Christians, both French and Spanish, and went divers times with the Indians of Trinidad to Margarita and Cumaná in the West Indies (for both those places have ever beene relieved with victuall from Trinidad) by reason whereof he grew of more understanding, and noted the difference of the nations, comparing the strength and armes of his countrey with those of the Christians, and ever after temporized so, as whosoever els did amisse, or was wasted by contention, Carapana kept himselfe and his countrey in quiet & plenty: he also held peace with the Caribes or Canibals his neighbours, and had free trade with all nations, whosoever els had warre.

Berreo sojourned and rested his weake troupe in the towne of Carapana sixe weeks, and from him learned the way and passage to Guiana, and the riches and magnificence thereof; but being then utterly disable to proceed, he determined to try his fortune another yere, when he had renewed his provisions, and regathered more force, which hee hoped for as well out of Spaine as from Nueva reyno, where hee had left his sonne, Don Antonio Ximenes to second him upon the first notice given of his entrance, and so for the present imbarked himselfe in canoas, and by the branches of Orenoque arrived at Trinidad, having from Carapana sufficient pilots to conduct him. From Trinidad he coasted Paria, and so recovered Mar-

garita: and having made relation to Don Juan Sermiento the governour, of his proceeding, and perswaded him of the riches of Guiana, he obteined from thence fifty souldiers, promising presently to returne to Carapana, and so into Guiana. But Berreo meant nothing lesse at that time; for he wanted many provisions necessary for such an enterprise, and therefore departed from Margarita, seated himselfe in Trinidad, and from thence sent his camp-master, and his sergeant-major backe to the borders to discover the neerest passage into the empire, as also to treat with the borderers, and to draw them to his party and love; without which, he knew he could neither passe safely, nor in any sort be relieved with victuall or ought els. Carapana directed his company to a king called Morequito, assuring them that no man could deliver so much of Guiana as Morequito could, and that his dwelling was but five dayes journey from Macureguarai, the first civill towne of Guiana. *Morequito.*

Now your lordship shall understand, that this Morequito, one of the greatest lords or kings of the borders of Guiana, had two or three yeeres before bene at Cumaná and at Margarita, in the West Indies, with great store of plates of golde, which he caried to exchange for such other things as he wanted in his owne countrey, and was dayly feasted, & presented by the governours of those places, and held amongst them some two moneths, in which time one Vides governour of Cumaná wanne him to be his conductour into Guiana, being allured by those croissants and images of golde which hee brought with him to trade, as also by the ancient fame and magnificence of El Dorado: whereupon Vides sent into Spaine for a patent to discover and conquer Guiana, not knowing of the precedence of Berreos patent, which, as Berreo affirmeth, was signed before that of Vides: so as when Vides understood of Berreo, and that he had made entrance into that territory, and forgone his desire and hope, it *Vides the governour of Cumana competitor with Berreo in the conquest of Guiana.*

was verily thought that Vides practised with Morequito to hinder and disturbe Berreo in all he could, and not to suffer him to enter thorow his signorie, nor any of his companies; neither to victuall, nor guide them in any sort; for Vides governour of Cumaná, and Berreo, were become mortall enemies, aswell for that Berreo had gotten Trinidad into his patent with Guiana, as also in that he was by Berreo prevented in the journey of Guiana it selfe: howsoever it was, I know not, but Morequito for a time dissembled his disposition, suffered Spanyards, and a frier (which Berreo had sent to discover Manoa) to travell thorow his countrey, gave them a guide for Macureguaray, the first towne of civill and apparelled people, from whence they had other guides to bring them to Manoa the great city of Inga: and being furnished with those things which they had learned of Carapana were of most price in Guiana, went onward, and in eleven dayes arrived at Manoa, as Berreo affirmeth for certaine; although I could not be assured thereof by the lord which now governeth the province of Morequito, for he tolde me that they got all the golde they had, in other townes on this side Manoa, there being many very great and rich, and (as he sayd) built like the townes of Christians, with many roomes.

Macureguaray.

Ten Spanyards arrive at Manoa. [III. 641.]

When these ten Spaniards were returned, and ready to put out of the border of Aromaia, the people of Morequito set upon them, and slew them all but one that swam the river, and tooke from them to the value of forty thousand pezos of golde: and one of them onely lived to bring the newes to Berreo, that both his nine souldiers and holy father were benighted in the said province. I my selfe spake with the captaines of Morequito that slew them, and was at the place where it was executed. Berreo inraged heerewithall, sent all the strength he could make into Aromaia, to be revenged of him, his people, and countrey. But Morequito suspecting the same, fled over Orenoque,

Aromaia.

and thorow the territories of the Saima, and Wikiri, recovered Cumaná, where hee thought himselfe very safe, with Vides the governour. But Berreo sending for him in the kings name, and his messengers finding him in the house of one Fashardo on the sudden yer he was suspected, so as he could not then be conveyed away, Vides durst not deny him, aswell to avoid the suspition of the practise, as also for that an holy father was slaine by him and his people. Morequito offered Fashardo the weight of three quintals in golde, to let him escape: but the poor Guianian, betrayed on all sides, was delivered to the campe-master of Berreo, and was presently executed.

Saima and Wikiri.

Morequito executed.

After the death of this Morequito, the souldiers of Berreo spoiled his territorie, and tooke divers prisoners, among others they tooke the uncle of Morequito, called Topiawari, who is now king of Aromaia (whose sonne I brought with me into England) and is a man of great understanding and policy: he is above an hundred yeeres olde, and yet of a very able body. The Spaniards ledde him in a chaine seventeene dayes, and made him their guide from place to place betweene his countrey & Emeria, the province of Carapana aforesayd, and he was at last redeemed for an hundred plates of golde, and divers stones called Piedras Hijadas, or Spleene-stones. Now Berreo for executing of Morequito, and other cruelties, spoiles, and slaughters done in Aromaia, hath lost the love of the Orenoqueponi, and of all the borderers, and dare not send any of his souldiers any further into the land then to Carapana, which he called the port of Guiana: but from thence by the helpe of Carapana he had trade further into the countrey, and alwayes appointed ten Spaniards to reside in Carapanas towne, by whose favour, and by being conducted by his people, those ten searched the countrey thereabouts, aswell for mines, as for other trades and commodities.

The towne of Carapana is the port of Guiana.

They also have gotten a nephew of Morequito, whom

they have Christened, and named Don Juan, of whom they have great hope, endevouring by all meanes to establish him in the sayd province. Among many other trades, those Spaniards used canoas to passe to the rivers of Barema, Pawroma, & Dissequebe, which are on the south side of the mouth of Orenoque, and there buy women and children from the Canibals, which are of that barbarous nature, as they will for three or foure hatchets sell the sonnes and daughters of their owne brethren and sisters, and for somewhat more, even their owne daughters. Hereof the Spaniards make great profit: for buying a maid of twelve or thirteene yeres for three or foure hatchets, they sell them againe at Margarita in the West Indies for fifty and an hundred pezos, which is so many crownes.

Some fewe Spaniards are now seated in Dissequebe.

The master of my shippe, John Dowglas, tooke one of the canoas which came laden from thence with people to be solde, and the most of them escaped; yet of those he brought, there was one as well favoured, and as well shaped as ever I saw any in England, and afterward I saw many of them, which but for their tawnie colour may be compared to any of Europe. They also trade in those rivers for bread of Cassavi, of which they buy an hundred pound weight for a knife, and sell it at Margarita for ten pezos. They also recover great store of Cotton, Brasill wood, and those beds which they call Hamacas or Brasill beds, wherein in hot countreyes all the Spaniards use to lie commonly, and in no other, neither did we our selves while we were there. By meanes of which trades, for ransome of divers of the Guianians, and for exchange of hatchets and knives, Berreo recovered some store of golde plates, eagles of golde, and images of men and divers birdes, and dispatched his campe-master for Spaine, with all that hee had gathered, therewith to levie souldiers, and by the shew thereof to draw others to the love of the enterprise. And having sent divers images aswell of men as beasts, birds & fishes, so curiously wrought

in gold, he doubted not but to perswade the king to yeeld to him some further helpe, especially for that this land hath never beene sacked, the mines never wrought, and in the Indies their works were well spent, and the golde drawen out with great labour and charge. He also dispatched messengers to his sonne in Nuevo reyno to levie all the forces he could, & to come downe the river Orenoque to Emeria, the province of Carapana, [III. 642.] to meet him: he had also sent to Saint Iago de Leon on the coast of the Caracas, to buy horses and mules.

After I had thus learned of his proceedings past and purposed, I told him that I had resolved to see Guiana, and that it was the end of my journey, and the cause of my comming to Trinidad, as it was indeed, (and for that purpose I sent Jacob Whiddon the yeere before to get intelligence with whom Berreo himselfe had speech at that time, and remembred how inquisitive Jacob Whiddon was of his proceedings, and of the countrey of Guiana) Berreo was stricken into a great melancholy and sadnesse, and used all the arguments he could to disswade me, and also assured the gentlemen of my company that it would be labour lost, and that they should suffer many miseries if they proceeded. And first he delivered that I could not enter any of the rivers with any barke or pinnesse, or hardly with any ships boat, it was so low, sandy, and full of flats, and that his companies were dayly grounded in their canoas, which drew but twelve inches water. Hee further sayde, that none of the countrey would come to speake with us, but would all flie; and if we followed them to their dwellings, they would burne their owne townes: and besides that, the way was long, the Winter at hand, and that the rivers beginning once to swell, it was impossible to stem the current, and that we could not in those small boats by any means cary victuall for halfe the time, and that (which indeed most discouraged my company) the kings and lords of all the borders of Guiana had decreed that none of

them should trade with any Christians for golde, because the same would be their owne overthrow, and that for the love of gold the Christians meant to conquer and dispossesse them of all together.

Many and the most of these I found to be true, but yet I resolving to make triall of all whatsoever happened, directed Captaine George Gifford my vice-admirall to take the Lions whelpe, and captaine Calfield his barke to turne to the Eastward, against the mouth of a river called Capuri, whose entrance I had before sent captaine Whiddon, and John Dowglas the master, to discover, who found some nine foot water or better upon the flood, and five at low water, to whom I had given instructions that they should anker at the edge of the shoald, and upon the best of the flood to thrust over, which shoald John Dowglas bwoyed and beckoned for them before: but they laboured in vaine; for neither could they turne it up altogether so farre to the East, neither did the flood continue so long, but the water fell yer they could have passed the sands; as wee after found by a second experience: so as now wee must either give over our enterprise, or leaving our ships at adventure foure hundred mile behinde us, must run up in our ships boats, one barge, and two wheries. But being doubtfull how to cary victuals for so long a time in such bables, or any strength of men, especially for that Berreo assured us that his sonne must be by that time come downe with many souldiers, I sent away one King, master of the Lions whelpe, with his shipboat, to trie another branch of a river in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, which was called Amana, to proove if there were water to be found for either of the small ships to enter. But when he came to the mouth of Amana, he found it as the rest, but stayed not to discover it thorowly, because he was assured by an Indian, his guide, that the Canibals of Guanipa would assaile them with many canoas, and that they shot poisoned arrowes; so as if he hasted not backe, they should all be lost.

The river of Capuri.

In the meane time, fearing the woorst, I caused all the carpenters we had, to cut downe a Galego boat, which we meant to cast off, and to fit her with banks to row on, and in all things to prepare her the best they could, so as she might be brought to draw but five foot, for so much we had on the barre of Capuri at low water. And doubting of Kings returne, I sent John Dowglas againe in my long barge, aswell to relieve him, as also to make a perfect search in the bottome of that bay: for it hath bene held for infallible, that whatsoever ship or boat shall fall therein, can never disemboque againe, by reason of the violent current which setteth into the sayde bay, as also for that the brize and Easterly winde bloweth directly into the same. Of which opinion I have heard John Hampton of Plymmouth, one of the greatest experience of England, and divers others besides that have traded to Trinidad.

John Hampton captaine of the Minion under sir John Hawkins in his voiage to S. Juan de Ullua.

I sent with John Dowglas an olde casique of Trinidad for a pilot, who tolde us that we could not returne againe by the bay or gulfe, but that he knew a by-branch which ran within the land to the Eastward, and that he thought by it we might fall into Capuri, and so returne in foure dayes. John Dowglas searched those rivers, and found foure goodly entrances, whereof the least was as bigge as the Thames at Wolwich; but in the bay thitherward it was shoald, and but sixe foot water: so as we were now without hope of any ship or barke to passe over, and therefore resolved to go on with the boats, and the bottome of the Galego, in which we thrust 60 men. In the Lions whelpes boat & whery we caried 20. Captaine Calfield in his whery caried ten more, and in my barge other tenne, which made up a hundred: [III. 643.] we had no other meanes but to cary victuall for a moneth in the same, and also to lodge therein as we could, and to boile and dresse our meat. Captaine Gifford had with him master Edward Porter, captaine Eynos, and eight more in his whery, with all their victuall, weapons, and provisions. Captaine Calfield had with him my

cousin Butshead Gorges, and eight more. In the galley, of gentlemen and officers my selfe had captaine Thin, my cousin John Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, captaine Whiddon, captaine Keymis, Edward Handcocke, captaine Clarke, lieutenant Hewes, Thomas Upton, captaine Facy, Jerome Ferrar, Anthony Welles, William Connocke, and above fifty more. We could not learne of Berreo any other way to enter but in branches, so farre to wind-ward, as it was impossible for us to recover: for wee had as much sea to crosse over in our wheries, as betweene Dover and Calais, and in a great billow, the winde and current being both very strong, so as we were driven to goe in those small boats directly before the winde into the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, and from thence to enter the mouth of some one of those rivers which John Dowglas had last discovered, and had with us for pilot an Indian of Barema, a river to the South of Orenoque, betweene that and Amazones, whose canoas we had formerly taken as hee was going from the sayd Barema, laden with Cassavi-bread, to sell at Margarita. This Arwacan promised to bring me into the great river of Orenoque, but indeed of that which he entred he was utterly ignorant, for he had not seene it in twelve yeeres before; at which time he was very yoong, and of no judgement: and if God had not sent us another helpe, we might have wandred a whole yere in that labyrinth of rivers, yer wee had found any way, either out or in, especially after wee were past ebbing and flowing, which was in foure dayes, for I know all the earth doeth not yeelde the like confluence of streames and branches, the one crossing the other so many times, and all so faire and large, and so like one to another, as no man can tell which to take: and if wee went by the Sunne or Compasse, hoping thereby to goe directly one way or other, yet that way wee were also caried in a circle amongst multitudes of Islands, and every Island so bordered with high trees, as no man coulde see any further then the bredth of the river, or length of the breach.

The bay of Guanipa.

Barema.

A woonderfull confluence of streames.

The river of the Red crosse.

But this it chanced, that entering into a river, (which because it had no name, wee called the river of the Red crosse, our selves being the first Christians that ever came therein) the two and twentieth of May, as wee were rowing up the same, wee espied a small canoa with three Indians, which (by the swiftnesse of my barge, rowing with eight oares) I overtooke yer they could crosse the river, the rest of the people on the banks shadowed under the thicke wood, gazed on with a doubtfull conceit what might befall those three which we had taken. But when they perceived that we offered them no violence, neither entred their canoa with any of ours, nor tooke out of the canoa any of theirs, they then beganne to shew themselves on the banks side, and offered to traffique with us for such things as they had. And as wee drew neere, they all stayed, and we came with our barge to the mouth of a little creeke which came from their towne into the great river.

As we abode there a while, our Indian pilot, called Ferdinando, would needs goe ashore to their village to fetch some fruits, and to drinke of their artificiall wines, and also to see the place, and know the lord of it against another time, and tooke with him a brother of his, which hee had with him in the journey: when they came to the village of these people, the lord of the Island offered to lay hands on them, purposing to have slaine them both, yeelding for reason that this Indian of ours had brought a strange nation into their territory, to spoile and destroy them. But the pilot being quicke, and of a disposed body, slipt their fingers, and ran into the woods, and his brother being the better footman of the two, recovered the creekes mouth, where we stayed in our barge, crying out that his brother was slaine: with that we set hands on one of them that was next us, a very olde man, and brought him into the barge, assuring him that if we had not our pilot againe, we would presently cut off his head. This olde man being resolved that he should pay the losse of the other, cried out to those in the woods to save Ferdinando

our pilot; but they followed him notwithstanding, and hunted after him upon the foot with the Deere-dogges, and with so maine a crie, that all the woods eckoed with the shout they made: but at the last this poore chased Indian recovered the river side, and got upon a tree, and as we were coasting, leaped downe and swamme to the barge halfe dead with feare. But our good happe was, that we kept the other olde Indian which we hand-fasted to redeeme our pilot withall; for being naturall of those rivers, we assured our selves hee knew the way better then any stranger could. And indeed, but for this chance, I thinke we had never found the way either to Guiana, or backe to our ships: for Ferdinando after a few dayes knew nothing at all, nor which way to turne, yea and many times the olde man himselfe was in great doubt which river to take. Those people which dwell in these broken islands and drowned lands, are generally called Tivitivas; there are of them two sorts, the one called Ciawani, and the other Waraweete.

[III. 644.]

Two nations of the Tivitivas, called Ciawani, and Waraweete.

The great river of Orenoque or Baraquan hath nine branches which fall out on the North side of his owne maine mouth: on the South side it hath seven other fallings into the sea, so it disemboqueth by sixteene armes in all, betweene Ilands and broken ground, but the Ilands are very great, many of them as bigge as the Isle of Wight, and bigger, and many lesse. From the first branch on the North to the last of the South, it is at least 100 leagues, so as the rivers mouth is 300 miles wide at his entrance into the sea, which I take to be farre bigger then that of Amazones. All those that inhabit in the mouth of this river upon the severall North branches, are these Tivitivas, of which there are two chiefe lords which have continuall warres one with the other. The Ilands which lie on the right hand, are called Pallamos, and the land on the left, Horotomaka, and the river by which John Dowglas returned within the land from Amana to Capuri, they call Macuri.

A description of the mighty river of Orenoque or Baraquan.

What maner of people the Tivitivas are.

These Tivitivas are a very goodly people and very

valiant, and have the most manly speech and most deliberate that ever I heard, of what nation soever. In the Summer they have houses on the ground, as in other places: in the Winter they dwell upon the trees, where they build very artificiall townes and villages, as it is written in the Spanish story of the West Indies, that those people do in the low lands nere the gulfe of Uraba: for betweene May & September the river of Orenoque riseth thirty foot upright, and then are those ilands overflowen twenty foot high above the levell of the ground, saving some few raised grounds in the middle of them: and for this cause they are inforced to live in this maner. They never eat of any thing that is set or sowen: and as at home they use neither planting nor other manurance, so when they come abroad, they refuse to feed of ought, but of that which nature without labour bringeth forth. They use the tops of Palmitos for bread, and kill deere, fish, and porks, for the rest of their sustenance. They have also many sorts of fruits that grow in the woods, and great variety of birds and fowle.

And if to speake of them were not tedious, and vulgar, surely we saw in those passages of very rare colours and formes, not elsewhere to be found, for as much as I have either seene or read. Of these people those that dwell upon the branches of Orenoque, called Capuri and Macureo, are for the most part carpenters of canoas, for they make the most and fairest canoas, and sel them into Guiana for golde, and into Trinidad for tabacco, in the excessive taking whereof, they exceed all nations; and notwithstanding the moistnesse of the aire in which they live, the hardnesse of their diet, and the great labours they suffer to hunt, fish and fowle for their living; in all my life, either in the Indies or in Europe, did I never behold a more goodly or better favoured people or a more manly. They were woont to make warre upon all nations, and especially on the Canibals, so as none

durst without a good strength trade by those rivers: but of late they are at peace with their neighbours, all holding the Spaniards for a common enemy. When their commanders die, they use great lamentation, and when they thinke the flesh of their bodies is putrified, and fallen from the bones, then they take up the carcase againe, and hang it in the caciques house that died, and decke his scull with feathers of all colours, and hang all his golde plates, about the bones of his armes, thighs, and legs. Those nations which are called Arwacas, which dwell on the South of Orenoque, (of which place and nation our Indian pilot was) are dispersed in many other places, and doe use to beat the bones of their lords into powder, and their wives and friends drinke it all in their severall sorts of drinks.

The Arwacas on the South side of Orenoque.

The port of the Ciawani.

After we departed from the port of these Ciawani, wee passed up the river with the flood, and ankered the ebbe, and in this sort we went onward. The third day that we entred the river, our galley came on ground, and stucke so fast, as we thought that even there our discovery had ended, and that we must have left foure-score and ten of our men to have inhabited like rooks upon trees with those nations: but the next morning, after we had cast out all her ballast, with tugging and halling to and fro, we got her aflote, and went on. At foure dayes end wee fell into as goodly a river as ever I beheld, which was called The great Amana, which ranne more directly without windings and turnings then the other: but soone after the flood of the sea left us; and being inforced either by maine strength to row against a violent current, or to returne as wise as we went out, we had then no shift but to perswade the companies that it was but two or three dayes worke, and therefore desired them to take paines, every gentleman & others taking their turnes to row, and to spell one the other at the houres end. Every day we passed by goodly branches of

A river called The great Amana.

rivers, some falling from the West, others from the East into Amana, but those I leave to the description in the Cart of discovery, where every one shalbe named with his rising and descent. When three dayes more were overgone, our companies began to despaire, the [III. 645.] weather being extreame hote, the river bordered with very high trees, that kept away the aire, and the current against us every day stronger then other: but we evermore commanded our pilots to promise an ende the next day, and used it so long, as we were driven to assure them from foure reaches of the river to three, and so to two, and so to the next reach: but so long we laboured, that many dayes were spent, and wee driven to drawe our selves to harder allowance, our bread even at the last, and no drinke at all; and our men and our selves so wearied and scorched, and doubtfull withall, whether wee should ever performe it or no, the heat increasing as we drew towards the line; for wee were now in five degrees.

They are in five degrees.

The further we went on (our victuall decreasing and the aire breeding great faintnesse) wee grew weaker and weaker, when wee had most need of strength and abilitie; for hourely the river ranne more violently then other against us, and the barge, wheries, and shippes boat of captaine Gifford and captaine Calfield, had spent all their provisions; so as we were brought into despaire and discomfort, had wee not perswaded all the company that it was but onely one dayes worke more to atteine the land where wee should be relieved of all wee wanted, and if we returned, that wee were sure to starve by the way, and that the world would also laugh us to scorne. On the banks of these rivers were divers sorts of fruits good to eat, flowers and trees of such variety, as were sufficient to make tenne volumes of herbals: we relieved our selves many times with the fruits of the countrey, and sometimes with fowle and fish. Wee saw birds of all colours, some carnation, some crimson, orenge-tawny, purple, watchet, and of

all other sorts both simple and mixt, and it was unto us a great good passing of the time to beholde them, besides the reliefe we found by killing some store of them with our fowling pieces; without which, having little or no bread, and lesse drinke, but onely the thicke and troubled water of the river, we had beene in a very hard case.

Our olde pilot of the Ciawani (whom, as I sayd before, wee tooke to redeeme Ferdinando) tolde us, that if we would enter a branch of a river on the right hand with our barge and wheries, and leave the galley at anker the while in the great river, he would bring us to a towne of the Arwacas, where we should finde store of bread, hennes, fish, and of the countrey wine; and perswaded us, that departing from the galley at noone, we might returne yer night. I was very glad to heare this speech, and presently tooke my barke, with eight musketiers, captaine Giffords whery, with himselfe and foure musketiers, and Captaine Calfield with his whery, and as many; and so we entred the mouth of this river: and because we were perswaded that it was so nere, we tooke no victuall with us at all. When we had rowed three houres, we marvelled we saw no signe of any dwelling, and asked the pilot where the towne was: he tolde us a little further. After three houres more, the Sun being almost set, we began to suspect that he led us that way to betray us: for hee confessed that those Spanyards which fled from Trinidad, and also those that remained with Carapana in Emeria, were joyned together in some village upon that river. But when it grew towards night; and wee demanded where the place was; hee tolde us but foure reaches more. When we had rowed foure and foure; we saw no signe; and our poore water-men, even heart-broken, and tired, were ready to give up the ghost: for wee had now come from the galley neere forty miles.

At the last we determined to hang the pilot; and

if wee had well knowen the way backe againe by night, hee had surely gone; but our owne necessities pleaded sufficiently for his safety: for it was as darke as pitch, and the river began so to narrow it selfe, and the trees to hang over from side to side, as wee were driven with arming swords to cut a passage thorow those branches that covered the water. Wee were very desirous to finde this towne, hoping of a feast, because wee made but a short breakefast aboord the galley in the morning and it was now eight a clocke at night, and our stomacks began to gnawe apace: but whether it was best to returne or goe on, we beganne to doubt, suspecting treason in the pilot more and more: but the poore olde Indian ever assured us that it was but a little further, but this one turning and that turning: and at the last about one a clocke after midnight wee saw a light; and rowing towards it, wee heard the dogges of the village. When we landed wee found few people; for the lord of that place was gone with divers canoas above foure hundred miles off, upon a journey towardes the head of Orenoque to trade for golde, and to buy women of the Canibals, who afterward unfortunately passed by us as wee rode at an anker in the port of Morequito in the darke of the night, and yet came so neere us, as his canoas grated against our barges: he left one of his company at the port of Morequito, by whom wee understood that hee had brought thirty yoong women, divers plates of golde, and had great store of fine pieces of cotton cloth, and cotton beds. In his house we had good store of bread, fish, hennes, and Indian drinke, and so rested that night, and in the morning after we had traded with such of his people as came downe, we returned towards our gally, and brought with us some quantity of bread, fish, and hennes. [III. 646.]

A most beautifull countrey.

On both sides of this river, we passed the most beautifull countrey that ever mine eyes beheld: and whereas all that we had seene before was nothing but woods, prickles,

bushes, and thornes, here we beheld plaines of twenty miles in length, the grasse short and greene, and in divers parts groves of trees by themselves, as if they had beene by all the arte and labour in the world so made of purpose: and still as we rowed, the deere came downe feeding by the waters side, as if they had beene used to a keepers call. Upon this river there were great store of fowle, and of many sorts: we saw in it divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bignes: but for lagartos it exceeded, for there were thousands of those ugly serpents; and the people call it for the abundance of them, The river of Lagartos, in their language. I had a Negro a very proper yoong fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those lagartos. In the meane while our companies in the gally thought we had bene all lost, (for wee promised to returne before night) and sent the Lions whelps shippes boat with captaine Whiddon to follow us up the river; but the next day, after we had rowed up and downe some fourescore miles, we returned, and went on our way, up the great river; and when we were even at the last cast for want of victuals, captaine Gifford being before the galley and the rest of the boats, seeking out some place to land upon the banks to make fire, espied foure canoas comming downe the river; & with no small joy caused his men to trie the uttermost of their strengths, and after a while two of the foure gave over, and ranne themselves ashore, every man betaking himselfe to the fastnesse of the woods, the two other lesser got away, while he landed to lay holde on these; and so turned into some by-creeke, we knew not whither. Those canoas that were taken, were loaden with bread, and were bound for Margarita in the West Indies, which those Indians (called Arwacas) purposed to cary thither for exchange: but in the lesser there were three Spanyards, who having heard of the defeat of their governour in Trinidad, and that we purposed to enter Guiana, came away in those canoas: one of them was a

The river of Lagartos, or Crocodiles.

Two canoas taken.

Three Spanyards escaped.

cavallero, as the captaine of the Arwacas after tolde us, another a souldier, and the third a refiner.

In the meane time, nothing on the earth could have bene more welcome to us, next unto gold, then the great store of very excellent bread which we found in these canoas; for now our men cried, Let us goe on, we care not how farre. After that captaine Gifford had brought the two canoas to the galley, I tooke my barge, and went to the banks side with a dozen shot, where the canoas first ranne themselves ashore, and landed there, sending out captaine Gifford, and captaine Thyn on one hand, and captaine Calfield on the other, to follow those that were fled into the woods: and as I was creeping thorow the bushes, I sawe an Indian basket hidden, which was the refiners basket; for I found in it his quick-silver, salt-peter, and divers things for the triall of metals, and also the dust of such ore as he had refined, but in those canoas which escaped there was a good quantity of ore and gold. I then landed more men, and offered five hundred pound to what souldier soever could take one of those three Spanyards that we thought were landed. But our labours were in vaine in that behalfe; for they put themselves into one of the small canoas: and so while the greater canoas were in taking they escaped. But seeking after the Spanyards, we found the Arwacas hidden in the woods, which were pilots for the Spanyards, and rowed their canoas; of which I kept the chiefest for a pilot, and caried him with me to Guiana, by whom I understood where and in what countreyes the Spanyards had laboured for golde, though I made not the same knowen to all: for when the springs began to breake, and the rivers to raise themselves so suddenly, as by no meanes wee could abide the digging of any mine, especially for that the richest are defended with rocks of hard stones, which wee call the White spar, and that it required both time, men, and instruments fit for such a worke, I thought it best not to hover thereabouts, least if the same had beene perceived by the company, there would have beene by this

The Spanish golde-finers basket & other things taken.

The richest mines defended with the white spar.

time many barks and shippes set out, and perchance other nations would also have gotten of ours for pilots; so as both our selves might have beene prevented, and all our care taken for good usage of the people bene utterly lost, by those that onely respect present profit, and such violence or insolence offered, as the nations which are borderers would have changed their desire of our love and defence into hatred and violence. And for any longer stay to have brought a more quantity (which I heare hath beene often objected) whosoever had seene or proved the fury of that river after it beganne to arise, and had bene a moneth and odde dayes, as we were, from hearing ought from our shippes, leaving them meanly manned 400 miles off, would perchance have turned somewhat sooner then we did, if all the mountaines had bene golde, or rich stones. And to say the trueth, all the branches and small rivers which fell into Orenoque were raised with such
[III. 647.] speed, as if we waded them over the shooes in the morning outward, we were covered to the shoulders homeward the very same day: and to stay to digge out gold with our nailes, had bene Opus laboris but not Ingenii: such a quantitie as would have served our turnes we could not have had, but a discovery of the Mines to our infinite disadvantage wee had made, and that could have bene the best profite of farther search or stay: for those Mines are not easily broken, nor opened in hast, and I could have returned a good quantitie of gold ready cast, if I had not shot at another marke, then present profit.

The Spaniards divelish lies.

This Arwacan Pilot with the rest, feared that wee would have eaten them, or otherwise have put them to some cruel death (for the Spaniards, to the end that none of the people in the passage towards Guiana or in Guiana it selfe might come to speach with us, perswaded all the nations, that we were men-eaters, and Canibals) but when the poore men and women had seen us, and that wee gave them meate, and to every one something or other, which was rare and strange to them, they beganne to conceive the deceit and purpose of the Spaniards, who indeed (as

they confessed) tooke from them both their wives and daughters dayly, and used them for the satisfying of their owne lusts, especially such as they tooke in this maner by strength. But I protest before the Majestie of the living God, that I neither know nor beleeve, that any of our company one or other, by violence or otherwise, ever knew any of their women, and yet we saw many hundreds, and had many in our power, and of those very yong, and excellently favoured, which came among us without deceit, starke naked.

Nothing got us more love amongst them then this usage: for I suffered not any man to take from any of the nations so much as a Pina, or a Potato roote, without giving them contentment, nor any man so much as to offer to touch any of their wives or daughters: which course so contrary to the Spaniards (who tyrannize over them in all things) drewe them to admire her Majestie, whose commaundement I tolde them it was, and also wonderfully to honour our nation.

But I confesse it was a very impatient worke to keepe the meaner sort from spoyle and stealing, when wee came to their houses: which because in all I coulde not prevent, I caused my Indian interpreter at every place when wee departed, to knowe of the losse or wrong done, and if ought were stolen or taken by violence, either the same was restored, and the partie punished in their sight, or else was payed for to their uttermost demand.

A notable course of justice.

They also much wondered at us, after they heard that we had slaine the Spaniards at Trinidad, for they were before resolved, that no nation of Christians durst abide their presence, and they wondered more when I had made them know of the great overthrow that her Majesties armie and Fleete had given them of late yeeres in their owne Countreys.

After we had taken in this supply of bread, with divers baskets of rootes which were excellent meate, I gave one of the Canoas to the Arwacas, which belonged to the Spaniards that were escaped, and when I had dismissed all

but the Captaine (who by the Spaniards was christened Martin) I sent backe in the same Canoa the olde Ciawan, and Ferdinando my first Pilot, and gave them both such things as they desired, with sufficient victuall to cary them backe, and by them wrote a letter to the ships, which they promised to deliver, and performed it, and then I went on, with my newe hired Pilot Martin the Arwacan: but the next or second day after, wee came aground againe with our Galley, and were like to cast her away, with all our victuall and provision, and so lay on the sand one whole night and were farre more in despaire at this time to free her then before, because wee had no tide of flood to helpe us, and therefore feared that all our hopes would have ended in mishaps: but we fastened an ancker upon the lande, and with maine strength drewe her off: and so the fifteenth day wee discovered afarre off the mountaines of Guiana to our great joy, and towards the evening had a slent of a Northerly winde that blewe very strong, which brought us in sight of the great river Orenoque; out of which this River discended wherein wee were: wee descried afarre off three other Canoas as farre as wee could descerne them, after whom wee hastened with our barge and wherries, but two of them passed out of sight, and the thirde entered up the great River, on the right hande to the Westward, and there stayed out of sight, thinking that wee meant to take the way Eastward towards the province of Carapana, for that way the Spaniards keepe, not daring to goe upwards to Guiana, the people in those parts being all their enemies, and those in the Canoas thought us to have bene those Spaniards that were fled from Trinidad, and had escaped killing: and when wee came so farre downe as the opening of that branch into which they slipped, being neere them with our barge and wherries, wee made after them, and ere they coulde land, came within call, and by our interpreter tolde them what wee were, wherewith they came backe willingly abord us: and of such fish and Tortugas egges

They come on ground with their gally.

[III. 648.]

as they had gathered, they gave us, and promised in the morning to bring the Lord of that part with them, and to do us all other services they could.

That night we came to an ancker at the parting of the three goodly Rivers (the one was the River of Amana by which we came from the North, and ranne athwart towards the South, the other two were of Orenoque which crossed from the West and ranne to the Sea towardes the East) and landed upon a faire sand, where wee found thousands of Tortugas egges, which are very wholesome meate, and greatly restoring, so as our men were nowe well filled and highly contented both with the fare, and neerenesse of the land of Guiana which appeared in sight. *Two branches of the river Orenoque.*

In the morning there came downe according to promise the Lord of that border called Toparimaca, with some thirtie or fourtie followers, and brought us divers sorts of fruites, and of his wine, bread, fish, and flesh, whom wee also feasted as wee could, at least wee dranke good Spanish wine (whereof wee had a small quantitie in bottles) which above all things they love. I conferred with this Toparimaca of the next way to Guiana, who conducted our galley and boates to his owne port, and caried us from thence some mile and a halfe to his Towne, where some of our Captaines karoused of his wine till they were reasonable pleasant, for it is very strong with pepper, and the juice of divers hearbes, and fruites digested and purged, they keepe it in great earthen pots of tenne or twelve galons very cleane and sweete, and are themselves at their meetings and feastes the greatest karousers and drunkards of the world: when wee came to his towne wee found two Casiques, whereof one was a stranger that had bene up the River in trade, and his boates, people, and wife incamped at the port where wee anckered, and the other was of that countrey a follower of Toparimaca: they lay each of them in a cotten Hamaca, which wee call brasill beds, and two women attending them with sixe cuppes and a little *Toparimaca.*

ladle to fill them, out of an earthen pitcher of wine, and so they dranke each of them three of those cups at a time one to the other, and in this sort they drinke drunke at their feastes and meetings.

That Casique that was a stranger had his wife staying at the port where wee anckered, and in all my life I have seldome seene a better favoured woman: Shee was of good stature, with blacke eyes, fat of body, of an excellent countenance, her haire almost as long as her selfe, tied up againe in pretie knots, and it seemed shee stood not in that awe of her husband, as the rest, for shee spake and discoursed, and dranke among the gentlemen and Captaines, and was very pleasant, knowing her owne comelinesse, and taking great pride therein. I have seene a Lady in England so like to her, as but for the difference of colour, I would have sworne might have bene the same.

The towne of Arowocay.

The seat of this Towne of Toparimaca was very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compasse round aboute it, and two very faire and large ponds of excellent fish adjoyning. This towne is called Arowocai: the people are of the nation called Nepoios, and are followers of Carapana. In that place I sawe very aged people, that wee might perceive all their sinewes and veines without any flesh, and but even as a case covered onely with skinne.

The great breadth of the river Orenoque.

The Lord of this place gave me an old man for Pilot, who was of great experience and traveile, and knew the River most perfectly both by day and night: and it shall bee requisite for any man that passeth it, to have such a Pilot, for it is foure, five, and sixe miles over in many places, and twentie miles in other places, with wonderfull eddies, and strong currents, many great ylands, and divers sholds, and many dangerous rockes, and besides upon any increase of winde so great a bilowe, as wee were sometimes in great perill of drowning in the galley, for the small boates durst not come from the shoare, but when it was very faire.

The next day we hasted thence, and having an Easterly winde to helpe us, we spared our armes from rowing: for after wee entred Orenoque, the River lieth for the most part East and West, even from the Sea unto Quito in Peru. This River is navigable with barkes, litle lesse then a thousand miles, & from the place where we entred, it may be sailed up in small pinnesses to many of the best parts of Nuevo reyno de Granada, and of Popayan: and from no place may the cities of these parts of the Indies be so easily taken and invaded as from hence. All that day wee sailed up a branch of that River, having on the left hand a great yland which they call Assapana which may conteine some five and twentie miles in length, and sixe miles in breadth, the great body of the River running on the other side of this yland. Beyond that middle branch there is also another yland in the River called Iwana, which is twise as bigge as the yle of Wight, and beyond it, and betweene it and the maine of Guiana, runneth a thirde branch of Orenoque called Arraroopana: all three are goodly branches, and all navigable for great ships. I judge the river in this place to be at least thirty miles brode, reckoning the ylands which devide the branches in it, for afterwards I sought also both the other branches.

They enter the river Orenoque which runneth East and West.

The yle of Assapana.

The yland of Iwana.

After wee reached to the head of the yland, called Assapana, a little to the Westward on the right hand there opened a river which came from the North, called Europa, and fel into the great River, and beyond it on the same side, wee anckered for that night, by another yland sixe miles long, and two miles broade, which they call Ocaywita: From hence in the morning wee landed two Guianians, which wee found in the Towne of Toparimaca, that came with us, who went to give notice of our comming to the Lord of that countrey called Putyma, a follower of Topiawari, chiefe Lord of Aromaia, who succeeded Morequito, whom (as you have heard before) Berreo put to death: but his towne being farre within the land, he came not unto us that day, so as we ankered

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The yle of Ocaywita.

The yle of Putapayma.

againe that night neere the bankes of another yland, of bignesse much like the other, which they call Putapayma, over against which yland, on the maine lande, was a very high mountaine called Oecope: we coveted to ancker rather by these ylands in the River, then by the maine, because of the Tortugas egges, which our people found on them in great abundance, and also because the ground served better for us to cast our nets for fish, the maine bankes being for the most part stonie and high, and the rocks of a blew metalline colour, like unto the best steele-ore, which I assuredly take it to be: of the same blew stone are also divers great mountaines, which border this river in many places.

Steele-ore.

The next morning towards nine of the clocke, wee weighed ancker, and the brize increasing, we sailed alwayes West up the river, and after a while opening the land on the right side, the countrey appeared to bee champaine, and the bankes shewed very perfect red. I therefore sent two of the little barges with Captaine Gifford, and with him Captaine Thyn, Captaine Calfield, my cosen Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert, Captaine Eynus, Master Edward Porter, and my cosen Butshead Gorges, with some fewe souldiers, to march over the bankes of that red land, and to discover what maner of countrey it was on the other side, who at their returne found it all a plaine levell, as farre as they went or could discerne, from the highest tree they could get upon: And my old Pilot, a man of great travell, brother to the Casique Toparimica tolde mee, that those were called the plaines of the Sayma, and that the same levell reached to Cumaná, and Caracas in the West Indies, which are a hundreth and twentie leagues to the North, and that there inhabited foure principall nations. The first were the Sayma, the next Assawai, the thirde and greatest the Wikiri, by whom Pedro Hernandez de Serpa before mentioned was overthrowen, as hee passed with three hundred horse from Cumaná towards Oren-

The plaines of Sayma stretching to Cumaná, and the Caracas.

oque, in his enterprize of Guiana: the fourth are called Aroras, and are as blacke as Negros, but have smooth haire, and these are very valiant, or rather desperate people, and have the most strong poyson on their arrowes, and most dangerous of all nations, of which poyson I will speake somewhat being a digression not unnecessary.

Aroras a black people using venemous arrowes.

There was nothing whereof I was more curious, then to finde out the true remedies of these poysoned arrowes: for besides the mortalitie of the wound they make, the partie shotte indureth the most insufferable torment in the world, and abideth a most ugly and lamentable death, sometimes dying starke mad, sometimes their bowels breaking out of their bellies: which are presently discoloured as blacke as pitch, and so unsavoury, as no man can endure to cure, or to attend them. And it is more strange to know, that in all this time there was never Spaniard either by gift or torment that could atteine to the true knowledge of the cure, although they have martyred and put to invented torture I know not how many of them. But every one of these Indians know it not, no not one among thousands, but their soothsayers and priestes, who doe conceale it, and onely teach it but from the father to the sonne.

Those medicines which are vulgar, and serve for the ordinarie poyson, are made of the juice of a roote called Tupara: the same also quencheth marveilously the heate of burning feavers, and healeth inward wounds, and broken veines, that bleed within the body. But I was more beholding to the Guianians then any other: for Anthonio de Berreo tolde mee that hee could never attaine to the knowledge thereof, and yet they taught mee the best way of healing as well thereof, as of all other poysons. Some of the Spaniards have bene cured in ordinary wounds, of the common poysoned arrowes with the juice of garlike: but this is a generall rule for all men that shall hereafter travel the Indies where poisoned arrowes are used, that they must abstaine from

The juice of garlike good against ordinary poyson

Speedy drinking to be avoyded of such as are wounded with poysoned arrows.

drinke, for if they take any licour into their body, as they shall bee marveilously provoked thereunto by drought, I say, if they drinke before the wound bee dressed, or soone upon it, there is no way with them but present death.

And so I will returne againe to our journey which for this thirde day we finished, and cast ancker againe neere the continent or the left hand betweene two mountaines, the one called Aroami, and the other Aio: I made no stay here but till midnight, for I feared [III. 650.] hourely least any raine should fall, and then it had bene impossible to have gone any further up, notwithstanding that there is every day a very strong brize, and Easterly winde. I deferred the search of the countrey on Guiana-side, till my returne downe the river.

The yle of Manoripano. The next day we sailed by a great yland in the middle of the river called Manoripano, and as wee walked a while on the yland, while the Galley got a head of us, there came for us from the maine a small Canoa with seven or eight Guianians, to invite us to ancker at their port, but I deferred till my returne; It was that Casique to whom those Nepoios went, which came with us from the towne of Toparimaca: and so *The province Aromaia.* the fift day we reached as high up as the province of Aromaia the countrey of Morequito whom Berreo executed, and ankered to the West of an yland called *The yle of Murrecotima.* Murrecotima, tenne miles long and five broad: and that night the Casique Aramiary, (to whose towne we made our long and hungry voyage out of the river of Amana) passed by us.

The next day wee arrived at the port of Morequito, and anckered there, sending away one of our Pilots to seeke the king of Aromaia, uncle to Morequito slaine by Berreo as aforesaid. The next day following before noone hee came to us on foote from his house, which was foureteene English miles (himselfe being a hundreth and tenne yeeres olde) and returned on foote

the same day, and with him many of the borderers, with many women and children, that came to wonder at our nation, and to bring us downe victuall, which they did in great plentie, as venison, porke, hennes, chickens, foule, fish, with divers sorts of excellent fruites and rootes, and great abundance of Pinas, the princes of fruites, that grow under the Sunne, especially those of Guiana. They brought us also store of bread, and of their wine, and a sort of Paraquitos, no bigger then wrennes, and of all other sorts both small and great; one of them gave mee a beast called by the Spaniards Armadilla, which they call Cassacam, which seemeth to be all barred over with smal plates somewhat like to a Rinoceros, with a white horne growing in his hinder parts, as bigge as a great hunting horne, which they use to winde in stead of a trumpet. Monardus writeth that a little of the powder of that horne put into the eare, cureth deafenesse.

After this olde King had rested a while in a little tent, that I caused to bee set up, I beganne by my interpreter to discourse with him of the death of Morequito his predecessour, and afterward of the Spaniards, and ere I went any farther I made him knowe the cause of my comming thither, whose servant I was, and that the Queenes pleasure was, I should undertake the voyage for their defence, and to deliver them from the tyrannie of the Spaniards, dilating at large (as I had done before to those of Trinidad) her Majesties greatnesse, her justice, her charitie to all oppressed nations, with as many of the rest of her beauties and vertues, as either I could expresse, or they conceive: all which being with great admiration attentively heard, and marveilously admired, I beganne to sound the olde man as touching Guiana, and the state thereof, what sort of common wealth it was, how governed, of what strength and policie, howe farre it extended, and what nations were friendes or enemies adjoyning, and finally of the distance and way to enter the same: hee tolde mee that

himselfe and his people with all those downe the River towards the Sea, as farre as Emeria, the province of Carapana, were of Guiana, but that they called themselves Orenoqueponi, and that all the nations betweene the river and those mountaines in sight called Wacarima, were of the same cast and appellation: and that on the other side of those mountaines of Wacarima there was a large plaine (which after I discovered in my returne) called the valley of Amariocapana, in all that valley the people were also of the ancient Guianians.

The valley of Amariocapana.

I asked what nations those were which inhabited on the farther side of those mountaines, beyond the valley of Amariocapana: hee answered with a great sigh (as a man which had inward feeling of the losse of his Countrey and libertie, especially for that his eldest sonne was slaine in a battell on that side of the mountaines, whom hee most entirely loved) that hee remembred in his fathers life time when hee was very olde, and himselfe a yong man, that there came downe into that large valley of Guiana, a nation from so farre off as the Sunne slept, (for such were his owne wordes) with so great a multitude as they coulde not bee numbred nor resisted, and that they wore large coates, and hattes of crimson colour, which colour hee expressed, by shewing a piece of red wood, wherewith my tent was supported, and that they were called Orejones, and Epuremei, those that had slaine and rooted out so many of the ancient people, as there were leaves in the wood upon all the trees, and had nowe made themselves Lords of all, even to that mountaine foote called Curaa, saving onely of two nations, the one called Awarawaqueri, and the other Cassipagotos, and that in the last battell fought betweene the Epuremei, and the Iwarawaqueri, his eldest sonne was chosen to carry to the aide of the Iwarawaqueri, a great troupe of the Orenoqueponi, and was there slaine with all his people and friendes, and that hee had now remayning but one sonne: and farther tolde mee that those Epuremei had built a great Towne

Orejones are the gentlemen of Peru. Lop. de Gomar. Hist. gen. cap. 119.

called Macureguarai at the said mountaine foote, at the beginning of the great plaines of Guiana, which have no ende: and that their houses have many roomes, one over the other, and that therein the great King of the Orejones and Epuremei kept three thousande men to defend the borders against them, and withall dayly to invade and slay them: but that of late yeeres since the Christians offered to invade his territories, and those frontiers, they were all at peace, and traded one with another, saving onely the Iwarawaqueri, and those other nations upon the head of the river of Caroli, called Cassipagotos, which we afterwards discovered, each one holding the Spaniard for a common enemie. [III. 651.] *The towne of Macureguarai.*

After hee had answered thus farre, he desired leave to depart, saying that hee had farre to goe, that hee was olde, and weake, and was every day called for by death, which was also his owne phrase: I desired him to rest with us that night, but I could not intreate him, but hee tolde mee that at my returne from the countrey above, hee would againe come to us, and in the meane time provide for us the best he could, of all that his countrey yeelded; the same night hee returned to Orocotona his owne towne, so as hee went that day eight and twentie miles, the weather being very hot, the countrey being situate betweene foure and five degrees of the Equinoctial. *Orotona betweene 4. and 5. degrees of Northerly latitude.*

This Topiawari is helde for the prowdest, and wisest of all the Orenoqueponi, and so hee behaved himselfe towardes mee in all his answeres at my returne, as I marveiled to finde a man of that gravitie and judgement, and of so good discourse, that had no helpe of learning nor breede.

The next morning we also left the port, and sailed Westward up to the River, to view the famous River called Caroli, as well because it was marveilous of it selfe, as also for that I understoode it ledde to the strongest nations of all the frontiers, that were enemies to the Epuremei, which are subjects to Inga, Emperour of

The yle of Caiama. They arrive at the mouth of the river Caroli.

Guiana, and Manoa, and that night we anckered at another yland called Caiama, of some five or sixe miles in length, and the next day arrived at the mouth of Caroli. When we were short of it as lowe or further downe as the port of Morequito wee heard the great rore and fall of the River, but when wee came to enter with our barge and whirries thinking to have gone up some fourtie miles to the nations of the Cassipagotos, wee were not able with a barge of eight oares to row one stones cast in an houre, and yet the River is as broad as the Thames at Wolwich, and wee tried both sides, and the middle, and every part of the River, so as we incamped upon the bankes adjoyning, and sent off our Orenoque-pone (which came with us from Morequito) to give knowledge to the nations upon the River of our being there, and that wee desired to see the Lordes of Canuria, which dwelt within the province upon that River, making them know that we were enemies to the Spaniards, (for it was on this River side that Morequito slewe the Frier, and those nine Spaniards which came from Manoa, the Citie of Inga, and tooke from them fourtie thousande pezos of golde) so as the next day there came downe a

Wanuretona.

Lord or Casique called Wanuretona with many people with him, and brought all store of provisions to entertaine us, as the rest had done. And as I had before made my comming knowen to Topiawari, so did I acquaint this Casique therewith, and howe I was sent by her Majestie for the purpose aforesaide, and gathered also what I could of him touching the estate of Guiana, and I founde that those also of Caroli were not onely enemies to the Spaniards, but most of all to the Epuremei, which abound in golde, and by this Wanuretona, I had knowledge that on the head of this River were three mighty nations, which were seated on a great lake, from whence this River descended, & were called Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos, and that all those either against the Spaniards, or the Epuremei would joyne with us, and that if wee entred the land over the mountaines

Cassipagotos, Eparagotos, and Arawagotos three mighty nations seated on a lake at the head of the river Caroli.

of Curaa, we should satisfie our selves with gold and all other good things: he told us farther of a nation called Iwarawaqueri before spoken off, that held dayly warre with the Epuremei that inhabited Macureguarai the first civill towne of Guiana, of the subjects of Inga the Emperour.

A great silver Mine.

Upon this river one Captaine George, that I tooke with Berreo tolde mee there was a great silver Mine, and that it was neere the banckes of the saide river. But by this time as well Orenoque, Caroli, as all the rest of the rivers were risen foure or five foote in height, so as it was not possible by the strength of any men, or with any boat whatsoever to rowe into the River against the streame. I therefore sent Captaine Thyn, Captaine Greenvile, my nephew John Gylbert, my cosen Butshead Gorges, Captaine Clarke, and some thirtie shotte more to coast the River by land, and to goe to a towne some twentie miles over the valley called Amnatapoi, and they found guides there, to goe farther towards the mountaine foote to another great towne called Capurepana, belonging to a Casique called Haharacoa (that was a nephew to olde Topiawari King of Arromaia our chiefest friend) because this towne and province of Capurepana adjoyned to Macureguarai, which was a frontier towne of the Empire: and the meane while my selfe with Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, Edward Hancocke, and some halfe a dosen shotte marched over land to viewe the strange overfals of the river of Caroli which rored so farre off, and also to see the plaines adjoyning, and the rest of the province of Canuri: I sent also Captaine Whiddon, William Connocke, and some eight shotte with them, to see if they coulde finde any Minerall stone alongst the river side. When we were come to the tops of the first hilles of the plaines adjoyning to the river, we behelde that wonderfull breach of waters, which ranne downe Caroli: and might from that mountaine see the river howe it ranne in three parts, above twentie miles off, and there appeared some tenne or twelve overfals in sight,

Amnatapoi, a towne.

[III. 652.]

The strange overfals of Caroli.

every one as high over the other as a Church-tower, which fell with that fury, that the rebound of water made it seeme, as if it had bene all covered over with a great shower of raine: and in some places wee tooke it at the first for a smoke that had risen over some great towne. For mine owne part I was well perswaded from thence to have returned, being a very ill footeman, but the rest were all so desirous to goe neere the saide strange thunder of waters, as they drew me on by little and little, till wee came into the next valley where we might better discerne the same. I never saw a more beautifull countrey, nor more lively prospects, hils so raised here and there over the valleys, the river winding into divers branches, the plaines adjoyning without bush or stubble, all faire greene grasse, the ground of hard sand easie to march on, either for horse or foote, the deere crossing in every path, the birdes towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand severall tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation pearching in the rivers side, the aire fresh with a gentle Easterly winde, and every stone that we stouped to take up, promised either golde or silver by his complexion. Your Lordship shall see of many sorts, and I hope some of them cannot bee bettered under the Sunne, and yet we had no meanes but with our daggers and fingers to teare them out here and there, the rockes being most hard of that minerall Sparre aforesaide, which is like a flint, and is altogether as hard or harder, and besides the veines lye a fathome or two deepe in the rockes. But we wanted all things requisite save onely our desires and good will to have performed more if it had pleased God. To be short, when both our companies returned, each of them brought also severall sorts of stones that appeared very faire, but were such as they found loose on the ground, and were for the most part but coloured, and had not any golde fixed in them, yet such as had no judgement or experience kept al that glistered, and would not be perswaded but it was rich because of the lustre, and brought of those, and of Mar-

A most beautifull country.

Abundance of minerall Sparre.

quesite with all, from Trinidad, and have delivered of those stones to be tried in many places, and have thereby bred an opinion that all the rest is of the same: yet some of these stones I shewed afterward to a Spaniard of the Caracas, who tolde mee that it was El Madre del oro, that is the mother of gold, and that the Mine was farther in the ground.

But it shall be found a weake policie in me, either to betray my selfe, or my countrey with imaginations, neither am I so farre in love with that lodging, watching, care, perill, diseases, ill savours, bad fare, and many other mischiefes that accompany these voyages, as to woo my selfe againe into any of them, were I not assured that the Sunne covereth not so much riches in any part of the earth. Captaine Whiddon, and our Chirurgion Nicholas Millechap brought mee a kinde of stones like Saphires, what they may prove I know not. I shewed them to some of the Orenoqueponi, and they promised to bring mee to a mountaine, that had of them very large pieces growing Diamond wise: whether it be Christall of the mountaine, Bristol-Diamond, or Saphire I doe not yet know, but I hope the best, sure I am that the place is as likely as those from whence all the rich stones are brought, and in the same height or very neere.

On the left hand of this river Caroli are seated those nations which are called Iwarawakeri before remembred, which are enemies to the Epuremei: and on the head of it adjoyning to the great lake Cassipa, are situate those other nations which also resist Inga, and the Epuremei, called Cassepagotos, Eparegotos, and Arrawagotos. I farther understood that this lake of Cassipa is so large, as it is above one dayes journey for one of their Canoas to crosse, which may bee some fourtie miles, and that thereinto fall divers rivers, and that great store of graines of gold are found in the Summer time when the lake falleth by the banckes, in those branches. *Cassipa a great lake.*

There is also another goodly river beyond Caroli which is called Arui, which also runneth thorow the lake Cassipa, *The river of Arui.*

and falleth into Orenoque farther West, making all that land betweene Caroli and Arui an yland, which is likewise a most beautifull countrey. Next unto Arui there are two rivers Atoica and Caora, and on that branch which is called Caora, are a nation of people, whose heads appeare not above their shoulders; which though it may be thought a meere fable, yet for mine owne part I am resolved it is true, because every childe in the provinces of Arromaia and Canuri affirme the same: they are called Ewaipanoma: they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouthes in the middle of their breasts, and that a long traine of haire groweth backward betweene their shoulders. The sonne of Topiawari, which I brought with me into England told me that they are the most mighty men of all the land, and use bowes, arrowes, and clubbes thrice as big as any of Guiana, or of the Orenoqueponi, and that one of the Iwarawakeri tooke a prisoner of them the yeere before our arrivall there, and brought him into the borders of Aromaia his fathers countrey. And farther when I seemed to doubt of it, hee told me that it was no wonder among them, but that they were as great a nation, and as common as any other in all the provinces, and had of late yeeres slaine many hundreds of his fathers people, and of other nations their neighbours, but it was not my chance to heare of them till I was come away, and if I had but spoken one worde of it while I was there, I might have brought one of them with mee to put the matter out of doubt. Such a nation was written of by Mandevile, whose reports were holden for fables many yeeres, and yet since the East Indies were discovered, we find his relations true of such things as heretofore were held incredible: whether it be true or no, the matter is not great, neither can there bee any profit in the imagination; for mine owne part I saw them not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine, or forethinke to make the report.

The rivers of Atoica and Caora.

Ewaipanoma a strange headlesse nation. [III. 653.]

When I came to Cumana in the West Indies afterwards by chance I spake with a Spaniard dwelling not farre from

thence, a man of great travell, and after hee knew that I had bene in Guiana, and so farre directly West as Caroli, the first question hee asked me was, whether I had seene any of the Ewaipanoma, which are those without heads: who being esteemed a most honest man of his word, and in all things else, tolde mee that hee had seene many of them: I may not name him, because it may be for his disadvantage, but hee is well knowen to Monsieur Mucherons sonne of London, and to Peter Mucheron merchant of the Flemish shippe that was there in trade, who also heard what he avowed to be true of those people.

The river of Casnero.

The fourth river to the West of Caroli is Casnero which falleth into Orenoque on this side of Amapaia, and that river is greater then Danubius, or any of Europe: it riseth on the South of Guiana from the mountaines which devide Guiana from Amazones, and I thinke it to bee navigable many hundreth miles: but wee had no time, meanes, nor season of the yeere, to search those rivers for the causes aforesayd, the Winter being come upon us, although the Winter and Summer as touching colde and heate differ not, neither doe the trees ever sensibly lose their leaves, but have alwayes fruit either ripe or greene, and most of them both blossome, leaves, ripe fruite, and greene at one time: but their Winter onely consisteth of terrible raines, and overflowing of the rivers, with many great stormes and gustes, thunder and lightnings, of which we had our fill, ere we returned.

The Winter of Guiana.

On the North side, the first river that falleth into Orenoque is Cari, beyond it on the same side is the river of Limo, betweene these two is a great nation of Canibals, and their chiefe towne beareth the name of the river, and is called Acamacari: at this towne is a continuall market of women for three or foure hatchets a piece, they are bought by the Arwacas, and by them sold into the West Indies. To the West of Limo is the river Pao, beyond it Caturi, beyond that Voari and Capuri which falleth out of the great river of Meta, by

which Berreo descended from Nuevo reyno de Granada. To the Westward of Capuri is the province of Amapaia, where Berreo wintered, and had so many of his people poysoned with the tawny water of the marshes of the Anebas. Above Amapaia toward Nuevo reyno fall in Meta, Pato, and Cassanar. To the West of those towards the provinces of the Ashaguas and Catetios are the rivers of Beta, Dawney, and Ubarro, and toward the frontier of Peru are the provinces of Thomebamba, and Caxamalca. Adjoyning to Quito in the North side of Peru are the rivers of Guiacar and Goauar: and on the other side of the sayd mountaynes the river of Papamene which descendeth into Marannon or Amazones passing thorough the province Mutylones where Don Pedro de Osua who was slaine by the traytour Agiri before rehearsed, built his brigandines, when he sought Guiana by the way of Amazones.

Meta, Pato, Cassanar.

Papamene.

The Isle of Baraquan.

Betweene Dawney and Beta lyeth a famous Island in Orenoque now called Baraquan (for above Meta it is not knowen by the name of Orenoque) which is called Athule, beyond which, ships of burden cannot passe by reason of a most forcible overfall, and current of waters: but in the eddy al smaller vessels may be drawen even to Peru it selfe: But to speake of more of these rivers without the description were but tedious, and therefore I will leave the rest to the description. This river of Orenoque is navigable for ships little lesse then 1000 miles, and for lesser vessels neere 2000. By it (as aforesayd) Peru, Nuevo reyno, and Popaian, may be invaded: it also leadeth to the great empire of Inga, & to the provinces of Amapaia, and Anebas which abound in gold: his branches of Cosnero, Manta, Caora descended from the middle land & valley, which lieth betweene the easter province of Peru and Guiana; and it falles into the sea betweene Marannon and Trinidad in two degrees and a halfe: all which your Honours shall better perceive in the general description of Guiana, Peru, Nuevo reyno, the kingdome of Popayan, and Roidas, with the

Orenoque a mighty river by which Peru, Nuevo reyno, & Popaian may be invaded. [III. 654.]

province of Venezuela, to the bay of Uraba, behind Cartagena Westward; and to Amazones Southward. While we lay at ankor on the coast of Canuri, and had taken knowledge of all the nations upon the head and branches of this river, and had found out so many several people, which were enemies to the Epuremei, and the new conquerours: I thought it time lost to linger any longer in that place, especially for that the fury of Orenoque began dayly to threaten us with dangers in our returne: for no halfe day passed, but the river began to rage and overflowe very fearefully, and the raines came downe in terrible showers, and gustes in great abundance: and withall, our men began to crie out for want of shift, for no man had place to bestowe any other apparell then that which he ware on his backe, and that was throughly washt on his body for the most part tenne times in one day: and we had now bene wel neere a moneth, every day passing to the Westward farther and farther from our shippes. Wee therefore turned towards the East, and spent the rest of the time in discovering the river towards the sea, which we had not viewed, and which was most materiall. *Canuri.* *They returne.*

The next day following we left the mouth of Caroli, and arrived againe at the port of Morequito where we were before: for passing downe the streame we went without labour, and against the winde, little lesse then a hundreth miles a day. Assoone as I came to ankor, I sent away one for olde Topiawari, with whom I much desired to have further conference, and also to deale with him for some one of his countrey, to bring with us into England, as well to learne the language, as to conferre withall by the way, the time being nowe spent of any longer stay there. Within three houres after my messenger came to him, he arrived also, and with him such a rabble of all sorts of people, and every one loden with somewhat, as if it had beene a great market or faire in England: and our hungry companies clustered thicke and threefold among their baskets, every one laying hand on

The last conference of sir Walter Ralegh with Topiawari. whose sonne he brought into England.

what he liked. After he had rested a while in my tent, I shut out all but our selves, and my interpreter, and told him that I knew that both the Epuremei and the Spaniards were enemies to him, his countrey and nations: that the one had conquered Guiana already, and the other sought to regaine the same from them both: and therefore I desired him to instruct me what he could, both of the passage into the golden parts of Guiana, and to the civill townes and apparelled people of Inga. Hee gave mee an answere to this effect: first that hee could not perceive that I meant to goe onward towards the citie of Manoa, for neither the time of the yeere served, neither could hee perceive any sufficient numbers for such an enterprize: and if I did, I was sure with all my company to bee buried there, for the Emperour was of that strength, as that many times so many men more were too fewe: besides hee gave mee this good counsell and advised mee to holde it in minde (as for himselfe hee knewe, hee could not live till my returne) that I should not offer by any meanes hereafter to invade the strong parts of Guiana without the helpe of all those nations which were also their enemies: for that it was impossible without those, either to bee conducted, to be victualled, or to have ought carried with us, our people not being able to indure the march in so great heate, and travell, unlesse the borderers gave them helpe, to carie with them both their meate and furniture: For hee remembred that in the plaines of Macureguarai three hundreth Spaniards were overthrowen, who were tired out, and had none of the borderers to their friendes: but meeting their enemies as they passed the frontier, were environed on all sides, and the people setting the long drie grasse on fire, smoothered them, so as they had no breath to fight, nor could discerne their enemies for the great smoke. He told me farther that 4 daies journey from his towne was Macureguarai, and that those were the next and neerest of the subjects of Inga, and of the

Counsell to be followed in other conquests.

Macureguarai ye first towne of Guiana, and of rich and apparelled people.

Epuremei, and the first towne of apparelled and rich people, and that all those plates of gold which were scattered among the borderers and caried to other nations farre and neere, came from the sayd Macureguarai and were there made, but that those of the land within were farre finer, and were fashioned after the images of men, beastes, birds, and fishes. I asked him whether hee thought that those companies that I had there with me, were sufficient to take that towne or no? He told me that he thought they were. I then asked him, whether he would assist me with guides, and some companies of his people to joyne with us? He answered that he would go himselfe with al the borderers, if the rivers did remaine foordable, upon this condition that I would leave with him til my return againe fifty souldiers, which hee undertooke to victuall: I answered that I had not above fiftie good men in all there, the rest were labourers and rowers, & that I had no provision to leave with them of powder, shot, apparell, or [III. 655.] ought else, and that without those things necessary for their defence, they should bee in danger of the Spaniards in my absence, who I knewe would use the same measure towards mine, that I offered them at Trinidad: And although upon the motion Captaine Calfield, Captaine Greenvile, my nephew John Gilbert and divers others were desirous to stay, yet I was resolved that they must needes have perished, for Berreo expected daylie a supply out of Spaine, and looked also hourely for his sonne to come downe from Nuevo reyno de Granada, with many horse and foote, and had also in Valencia in the Caracas, two hundreth horse ready to march, and I could not have spared above fortie, and had not any store at all of powder, leade, or match to have left with them, nor any other provision, either spade, pickeaxe, or ought else to have fortified withall.

When I had given him reason that I could not at this time leave him such a companie, he then desired mee to forbeare him and his countrey for that time, for he

assured mee that I should bee no sooner three dayes from the coast, but those Epuremei would invade him, and destroy all the remaine of his people and friendes, if hee should any way either guide us or assist us against them.

He further alleaged, that the Spaniards sought his death, and as they had already murthered his Nephew Morequito lord of that province, so they had him seventeene dayes in a chaine before hee was king of the countrey, and ledde him like a dog from place to place, until hee had payde an hundreth plates of golde, and divers chaines of Spleen-stones for his ransome: and nowe since he became owner of that province, that they had many times layd waite to take him, and that they would bee nowe more vehement, when they should understand of his conference with the English, and because, sayd hee, they would the better displant me, if they cannot lay handes on mee, they have gotten a Nephew of mine called Eparacano, whom they have Christened Don Juan, and his sonne Don Pedro, whom they have also apparelled and armed, by whom they seeke to make a partie against me in mine owne countrey: hee also had taken to wife one Loviana of a strong familie, which are borderers and neighbours, and my selfe now being olde and in the handes of death am not able to travell nor to shifte, as when I was of yoonger yeeres: hee therefore prayed us to deferre it till the next yeere, when he would undertake to draw in all the borderers to serve us, and then also it would bee more seasonable to travell, for at this time of the yeere, wee should not bee able to passe any river, the waters were and would bee so growen ere our returne.

He farther told me, that I could not desire so much to invade Macureguari, and the rest of Guiana, but that the borderers would be more vehement then I, for he yeelded for a chiefe cause that in the warres with the Epuremei, they were spoyled of their women, and that their wives and daughters were taken from them, so as for their owne parts they desired nothing of the golde

or treasure, for their labours, but onely to recover women from the Epuremei: for hee farther complayned very sadly (as it had beene a matter of great consequence) that whereas they were wont to have tenne or twelve wives, they were now inforced to content themselves with three or foure, and that the lords of the Epuremei had fifty or a hundreth: And in truth they war more for women then either for gold or dominion: For the lords of countreys desire many children of their owne bodies, to increase their races and kinreds, for in those consist their greatest trust and strength. Divers of his followers afterwards desired mee to make haste againe, that they might sacke the Epuremei, and I asked them of what? They answered, of their women for us, and their gold for you: for the hope of those many of women they more desire the war, then either for gold, or for the recovery of their ancient territories. For what betweene the subjects of Inga, and the Spaniards, those frontiers are growen thinne of people, and also great numbers are fled to other nations farther off for feare of the Spaniards.

After I received this answere of the old man, we fell into consideration, whether it had bene of better advice to have entred Macureguarai, and to have begun a warre upon Inga at this time, yea or no, if the time of the yeere, and all things else had sorted. For mine owne part (as we were not able to march it for the rivers, neither had any such strength as was requisite, and durst not abide the comming of the Winter, or to tarie any longer from our ships) I thought it were evill counsell to have attempted it at that time, although the desire of gold will answere many objections: but it would have bin in mine opinion an utter overthrow to the enterprize, if the same should be hereafter by her Majesty attempted: for then (whereas now they have heard we were enemies to the Spaniards & were sent by her Majesty to relieve them) they would as good cheap have joyned with the Spaniards at our

returne, as to have yeelded unto us, when they had proved that we came both for one errant, and that both sought but to sacke & spoile them, but as yet [III. 656.] our desire of gold, or our purpose of invasion is not knowen to them of the empire: and it is likely that if her Majestie undertake the enterprize, they will rather submit themselves to her obedience then to the Spaniards, of whose cruelty both themselves and the borderers have already tasted: and therefore till I had knowen her Majesties pleasure, I would rather have lost the sacke of one or two townes (although they might have beene very profitable) then to have defaced or indangered the future hope of so many millions, & the great good, & rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured nowe that they will all die even to the last man against the Spaniards in hope of our succour and returne: whereas otherwise if I had either layd handes on the borderers, or ransomed the lords, as Berreo did, or invaded the subjects of Inga, I know all had beene lost for hereafter.

After that I had resolved Topiawari lord of Aromaia, that I could not at this time leave with him the companies he desired, and that I was contented to forbeare the enterprize against the Epuremei till the next yeare, he freely gave me his onely sonne to take with me into England, and hoped, that though hee himselfe had but a short time to live, yet that by our meanes his sonne should be established after his death: and I left with him one *Francis Sparrow.* Francis Sparrow, a servant of Captaine Gifford, (who was desirous to tarie, and could describe a countrey with his pen) and a boy of mine called Hugh Goodwin, to learne the language. I after asked the maner how the Epuremei wrought those plates of golde, and howe they could melt it out of the stone; hee tolde mee that the most of the golde which they made in plates and images, *The lake of Manoa.* was not severed from the stone, but that on the lake of Manoa, and in a multitude of other rivers they gathered it in graines of perfect gold and in peeces as bigge as small

stones, and that they put it to a part of copper, otherwise they could not worke it, and that they used a great earthern pot with holes round about it, and when they had mingled the gold and copper together, they fastened canes to the holes, and so with the breath of men they increased the fire till the metall ran, & then they cast it into moulds of stone and clay, and so make those plates and images. I have sent your Honors of two sortes such as I could by chance recover, more to shewe the maner of them, then for the value: For I did not in any sort make my desire of gold knowen, because I had neither time, nor power to have a greater quantity. I gave among them manie more peeces of gold, then I received, of the new money of 20 shillings with her Majesties picture to weare, with promise that they would become her servants thencefoorth.

Most rich gold ore.

I have also sent your Honours of the ore, whereof I know some is as rich as the earth yeeldeth any, of which I know there is sufficient, if nothing else were to bee hoped for. But besides that we were not able to tarrie and search the hils, so we had neither pioners, barres, ledges, nor wedges of yron to breake the ground, without which there is no working in mines: but wee saw all the hilles with stones of the colour of gold and silver, and we tried them to be no Marquesite, and therefore such as the Spaniards call El madre del oro, or, The mother of gold, which is an undoubted assurance of the generall abundance: and my selfe saw the outside of many mines of the Sparre, which I know to be the same that all covet in this world, and of those, more then I will speake of.

The lake of Cassipa.

Having learned what I could in Canuri and Aromaia, and received a faithfull promise of the principallest of those provinces to become servants to her Majestie, and to resist the Spaniards, if they made any attempt in our absence, and that they would draw in the nations about the lake of Cassipa, and those Iwarawaqueri, I then parted from olde Topiawari, and received his sonne

for a pledge betweene us, and left with him two of ours as aforesayd. To Francis Sparrowe I gave instructions to travell to Marcureguarai, with such merchandizes as I left with them, thereby to learne the place, and if it were possible, to goe on to the great citie of Manoa: which being done, we weyed ankor, and coasted the river on Guiana side, because wee came upon the North side, by the launes of the Saima and Wikiri.

Guiana on the Southside.

There came with us from Aromaia a Cassique called Putijma, that commanded the province of Warapana, (which Putijma slewe the nine Spaniards upon Caroli before spoken of) who desired us to rest in the Porte of his countrey, promising to bring us unto a mountaine adjoyning to his towne that had stones of the colour of golde, which hee perfourmed. And after wee had rested there one night, I went my selfe in the morning with most of the Gentlemen of my company, over land towards the said mountaine, marching by a rivers side called Mana, leaving on the right hand a towne called Tuteritona, standing in the Province of Tarracoa, of the which Wariaaremagoto is principall. Beyond it lieth another towne towards the South, in the valley of Amariocapana, which beareth the name of the sayd valley, whose plaines stretch themselves some sixtie miles in length, East and West, as faire ground, and as beautifull fields, as any man hath ever seene, with divers copsies scattered here and there by the rivers side, and all as full of deere as any forrest or parke in England, and in everie lake and river the like abundance of fish and foule, of which Irraparragota is lord.

Mana.

[III. 657.]

From the river of Mana, we crost another river in the said beautifull valley called Oiana, & rested our selves by a cleere lake, which lay in the middle of the said Oiana, and one of our guides kindling us fire with two stickes, wee stayed a while to drie our shirts, which with the heate hong very wette and heavie on our sholders. Afterwards wee sought the ford to passe over towards the mountaine called Iconuri, where

Oiana.

Putijma foretold us of the mine. In this lake we saw one of the great fishes, as big as a wine pipe, which they call Manati, being most excellent and holsome meate. But after I perceived, that to passe the said river would require halfe a dayes march more, I was not able my selfe to endure it, and therefore I sent Captaine Keymis with sixe shot to goe on, and gave him order not to returne to the port of Putijma, which is called Chiparepare, but to take leisure, and to march downe the sayd valley, as farre as a river called Cumaca, where I promised to meete him againe, Putijma himselfe promising also to bee his guide: and as they marched, they left the townes of Emparepana, and Capurepana, on the right hand, and marched from Putijmas house downe the sayd valley of Amariocapana, and wee returning the same day to the rivers side, saw by the way many rockes, like unto gold ore, and on the left hand, a round mountaine which consisted of minerall stone.

Great fishes called Manati most excellent meate.

From hence we rowed downe the streame, coasting the province of Parino: As for the branches of rivers which I overpasse in this discourse, those shall be better expressed in the description with the mountaines of Ajo, Ara, and the rest, which are situate in the provinces of Parino and Carricurrina. When we were come as farre downe as the land called Ariacoa, (where Orenoque devideth it selfe into three great branches, each of them being most goodly rivers) I sent away captaine Henrie Thin, and captaine Greenevile with the galley, the neerest way, and tooke with mee captaine Gifford, captaine Calfield, Edward Porter, and captaine Eynos with mine owne barge, and the two wherries, and went downe that branch of Orenoque, which is called Cararoopana, which leadeth towards Emeria the province of Carapana, and towards the East sea, as well to finde out captaine Keymis, whome I had sent over land, as also to acquaint my selfe with Carapana, who is one of the greatest of all the lords of the Orenoqueponi: and when I came to the

river of Cumaca (to which Putijma promised to conduct captaine Keymis) I left captaine Eynos and master Porter in the sayd river to expect his comming, & the rest of us rowed downe the streame towards Emeria.

Emeria.

In this branch called Cararoopana were also many goodly Islands, some of sixe miles long, some of ten, and some of twenty. When it grew towards sunneset, we entred a branch of a river that fell into Orenoque called Winicapora: where I was enformed of the mountaine of Christall, to which in trueth for the length of the way, and the evill season of the yeere, I was not able to march, nor abide any longer upon the journey: wee saw it afarre off and it appeared like a white Church-tower of an exceeding height. There falleth over it a mighty river which toucheth no part of the side of the mountaine, but rusheth over the toppe of it, and falleth to the ground with so terrible a noyse and clamor, as if a thousand great bels were knockt one against another. I thinke there is not in the world so strange an over-fall, nor so wonderfull to behold: Berreo told mee that there were Diamonds and other precious stones on it, and that they shined very farre off: but what it hath I know not, neither durst he or any of his men ascend to the top of the sayd mountaine, those people adjoyning being his enemies (as they were) and the way to it so impassable.

Winicapora.

A mighty cataract or overfall of water.

Diamonds & other precious stones.

Upon this river of Winicapora wee rested a while, and from thence marched into the countrey to a town called after the name of the river, whereof the captaine was one Timitwara, who also offered to conduct mee to the top of the sayd mountaine called Wacarima: But when wee came in first to the house of the sayd Timitwara, being upon one of their sayd feast dayes, we found them all as drunke as beggers, and the pots walking from one to another without rest: we that were weary, and hote with marching, were glad of the plenty though a small quantitie satisfied us, their drinke being very strong and headie, and so rested our selves

Wacarima.

a while; after wee had fedde, we drew our selves backe to our boats, upon the river and there came to us all the lordes of the countrey, with all such kinde of victuall as the place yeelded, and with their delicate wine of Pinas, and with abundance of hens, and other provisions, and of those stones which wee call Spleene-stones.

Wee understood by the chiefetaines of Winicapora, that their lord Carapana was departed from Emeria which was now in sight, & that he was fled to Cairamo, adjoyning to the mountains of Guiana, over [III. 658.] the valley called Amariocapana, being perswaded by those tenne Spaniards which lay at his house, that we would destroy him, and his countrey.

But after these Cassiques of Winicapora & Saporatona his followers perceived our purpose, and saw that we came as enemies to the Spaniards onely, and had not so much as harmed any of those nations, no though we found them to be of the Spaniards owne servants, they assured us that Carapana would be as ready to serve us, as any of the lords of the provinces, which we had passed; and that he durst doe no other till this day but entertaine the Spaniards, his countrey lying so directly in their way, and next of all other to any entrance that should be made in Guiana on that side.

And they farther assured us, that it was not for feare of our comming that he was remooved, but to be acquited of the Spaniards or any other that should come hereafter. For the province of Cairoma is situate at the mountaine foote, which devideth the plaines of Guiana from the countreys of the Orenoqueponi: by meanes whereof if any should come in our absence into his townes, hee would slip over the mountaines into the plaines of Guiana among the Epuremei, where the Spaniards durst not follow him without great force.

But in mine opinion, or rather I assure my selfe, that Carapana (being a notable wise and subtil fellow, a man

of one hundred yeeres of age, and therefore of great experience) is remooved, to looke on, and if he finde that we returne strong he will be ours, if not, hee will excuse his departure to the Spaniards, and say it was for feare of our comming.

Wee therefore thought it bootlesse to rowe so farre downe the streame, or to seeke any farther of this olde fox: and therefore from the river of Waricapana (which lieth at the entrance of Emeria) we returned againe, and left to the Eastward those foure rivers which fall from the mountaines of Emeria into Orenoque, which are Waracayari, Coirama, Akaniri, and Iparoma: below those foure are also these branches and mouthes of Orenoque, which fall into the East sea, whereof the first is Araturi, the next Amacura, the third Barima, the fourth Wana, the fift Morooca, the sixt Paroma, the last Wijmi: beyond them there fall out of the land betweene Orenoque and Amazones 14 rivers which I forbeare to name, inhabited by the Arwacas and Canibals.

It is now time to returne towards the North, and wee found it a wearisome way backe from the borders of Emeria, to recover up againe to the head of the river Carerupana, by which we descended, and where we parted from the galley, which I directed to take the next way to the port of Toparimaca, by which we entred first.

All the night it was stormie and darke, and full of thunder, and great showers, so as wee were driven to keepe close by the bankes in our small boats, being all heartily afraid both of the billow and terrible curent of the river. By the next morning we recovered the mouth of the river of Cumaca, where we left captaine Eynos and Edward Porter to attend the comming of captaine Keymis over land: but when wee entred the same, they had heard no newes of his arrivall, which bred in us a great doubt what might become of him: I rowed up a league or two farther into the river, shooting off pieces all the way, that hee might know of our being there.

And the next morning wee heard them answere us also with a piece: wee tooke them aboord us, and tooke our leave of Putima their guide, who of all others most lamented our departure, and offered to send his sonne with us into England, if we could have stayed till he had sent backe to his towne: but our hearts were cold to behold the great rage and increase of Orenoque, and therefore departed, and turned toward the West, till we had recovered the parting of the three branches aforesayd, that we might put downe the streame after the galley.

The next day we landed on the Island of Assapano (which devideth the river from that branch by which we sent downe to Emeria) and there feasted our selves with that beast which is called Armadilla presented unto us before at Winicapora, and the day following we recovered the galley at ankor at the port of Toparimaca, & the same evening departed with very foule weather and terrible thunder, and showers, for the Winter was come on very farre: the best was, we went no lesse then 100 miles a day, downe the river; but by the way we entred, it was impossible to returne, for that the river of Amana, being in the bottome of the bay of Guanipa, cannot be sayled backe by any meanes, both the brize and current of the sea were so forcible: and therefore wee followed a branch of Orenoque called Capuri, which entred into the sea Eastward of our ships, to the end we might beare with them before the wind, and it was not without neede, for we had by that way as much to crosse of the maine sea after we came to the rivers mouth, as between Gravelyn and Dover, in such boats as your Hon. hath heard.

The port of Toparimaca.

To speake of what past homeward were tedious, either to describe or name any of the rivers, Islands, or villages of the Tivitivas which dwell on trees: we will leave all those to the generall mappe: and to be short, when we were arrived at the sea side, then grew our greatest doubt, and the bitterest of all our journey fore- [III. 659.]

passed, for I protest before God, that we were in a most desperate estate: for the same night which we ankored in the mouth of the river of Capuri, where it falleth into the sea, there arose a mightie storme, and the rivers mouth was at least a league broad, so as we ranne before night close under the land with our small boates, and brought the Galley as neere as we could, but she had as much a doe to live as could be, and there wanted little of her sinking, and all those in her; for mine owne part I confesse, I was very doubtfull which way to take, either to goe over in the pestred Galley, there being but sixe foote water over the sandes, for two leagues together, and that also in the channell, and she drew five: or to adventure in so great a billow, and in so doubtfull weather, to crosse the seas in my barge. The longer we taried the worse it was, and therefore I tooke Captaine Gifford, Captaine Calfield, and my cosen Greenevile into my barge; and after it cleared up, about midnight we put our selves to Gods keeping, and thrust out into the sea, leaving the Galley at anker, who durst not adventure but by day-light: And so being all very sober, and melancholy, one faintly chearing another to shewe courage, it pleased God that the next day about nine of the clocke, wee descried the Ilande of Trinidad, and stearing for the neerest part of it, wee kept the shore till wee came to Curiapan, where wee founde our shippes at ankor, then which there was never to us a more joyfull sight.

Now that it hath pleased God to sende us safe to our shippes, it is time to leave Guiana to the Sunne, whom they worshippe, and steare away towardes the North: I will therefore in a fewe wordes finish the discovery thereof. Of the severall nations which we found upon this discovery I will once againe make repetition, and howe they are affected. At our first enterance into Amana, which is one of the outlets of Orenoque, we left on the right hand of us in the bottome of the bay, lying directly against Trinidad, a nation of inhumaine Canibals, which

A rehearsall & description of all the nations and rivers found in this discoverie.

inhabite the rivers of Guanipa and Berbeese ; in the same bay there is also a third river which is called Areo, which riseth on Paria side towards Cumaná, and that river is inhabited with the Wikiri, whose chiefe towne upon the sayd river is Sayma ; In this bay there are no more rivers, but these three before rehearsed, and the foure branches of Amana, all which in the Winter thrust so great abundance of water into the sea, as the same is taken up fresh, two or three leagues from the land. In the passages towardes Guiana (that is, in all those landes which the eight branches of Orenoque fashion into Ilands) there are but one sort of people called Tivitivas, but of two castes as they tearme them, the one called Ciawani, the other Waraweeti, and those warre one with another.

On the hithermost part of Orenoque, as at Toparimaca, and Winicapora, those are of a nation called Nepoios, and are of the followers of Carapana, Lord of Emeria. Betweene Winicapora and the port of Morequito which standeth in Aromaia, and all those in the valley of Amariocapana are called Orenoqueponi, and did obey Morequito, and are now followers of Topiawari. Upon the river of Caroli, are the Canuri, which are governed by a woman (who is inheritrix of that Province) who came farre off to see our Nation, and asked me diverse questions of her Majestie, being much delighted with the discourse of her Majesties greatness, and wondering at such reports as we truely made of her Highnesse many vertues : And upon the head of Caroli, and on the lake of Cassipa, are the three strong Nations of the Cassipagotos. Right South into the land are the Capurepani, and Emparepani, and beyond those adjoyning to Macureguarai (the first citie of Inga) are the Iwarawakeri : all these are professed enemies to the Spaniards, and to the rich Epuremei also. To the West of Caroli are diverse nations of Canibals, and of those Ewaipanoma without heads. Directly West are the Amapaias and Anebas, which are also marveilous rich in gold. The rest towards Peru we will omit. On the North of

Orenoque, betweene it and the West Indies are the Wikiri, Saymi, and the rest before spoken of, all mortall enemies to the Spaniardes. On the South side of the maine mouth of Orenoque, are the Arwacas; and beyond them the Canibals and to the South of them the Amazones.

To make mention of the severall beasts, birds, fishes, fruits, flowers, gummes, sweet woods, and of their severall religions and customes, would for the first require as many volumes as those of Gesnerus, and for the rest another bundle of Decades. The religion of the Epuremei is the same which the Ingas, Emperours of Peru used, which may be read in Cieza, and other Spanish stories, how they beleeve the immortalitie of the soule, worship the Sunne, and burie with them alive their best beloved wives and treasure, as they likewise doe in Pegu in the East Indies, and other places. The Orenoqueponi bury not their wives with them, but their jewels, hoping to injoy them againe. The Arwacas dry the bones of their Lords, and their wives and friends drinke them in powder. In the graves of the Peruvians the Spaniards found their greatest abundance of treasure: the like also is to be found among these people in every Province. They have all many wives, and the Lords five-fould to the common sort: their wives never eate with their husbands, nor among the men, but serve their husbands at meales, and afterwardes feede by themselves. Those that are past their younger yeeres, make all their bread and drinke, and worke their cotten beds, and doe all else of service and labour, for the men doe nothing but hunt, fish, play, and drinke, when they are out of the warres.

Piedro de Cieza.

[III. 660.]

I will enter no further into discourse of their maners, lawes and customes: and because I have not my selfe seene the cities of Inga, I cannot avow on my credit what I have heard, although it be very likely, that the Emperour Inga hath built and erected as magnificent palaces in Guiana, as his ancestors did in Peru, which were for their

riches and rarenesse most marvellous and exceeding all in Europe, and I thinke of the world, China excepted, which also the Spaniards (which I had) assured me to be true, as also the Nations of the borderers, who being but Salvages to those of the in-land, doe cause much treasure to be buried with them: for I was enformed of one of the Cassiques of the valley of Amariocapana which had buried with him a little before our arrivall, a chaire of golde most curiously wrought, which was made either in Macureguaray adjoyning, or in Manoa: but if we should have grieved them in their religion at the first, before they had bene taught better, and have digged up their graves, we had lost them all: and therefore I helde my first resolution, that her Majestie should either accept or refuse the enterprise, ere any thing should be done that might in any sort hinder the same. And if Peru had so many heapes of golde, whereof those Ingas were Princes, and that they delighted so much therin; no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in Manoa, hath the same honour, and I am assured hath more abundance of golde, within his territorie, then all Peru and the West Indies. *Great riches.*

For the rest, which my selfe have seene, I will promise these things that follow, which I know to be true. Those that are desirous to discover and to see many nations, may be satisfied within this river, which bringeth foorth so many armes and branches leading to severall countries and provinces, above 2000 miles East and West, and 800 miles South and North, and of these, the most eyther rich in golde, or in other marchandizes. The common souldier shall here fight for golde, and pay himselfe in steede of pence, with plates of halfe a foote broad, whereas he breaketh his bones in other warres for provant and penury. Those commanders and chieftaines that shoot at honour and abundance, shall finde there more rich and beautifull cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, then either Cortez found in Mexico, *Exceeding commendation of the river of Orenoque.*

or Pizarro in Peru: and the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so farre extended beames of the Spanish nation. There is no countrey which yeeldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants, either for those common delights of hunting, hawking, fishing, fowling, or the rest, then Guiana doth. It hath so many plaines, cleere rivers, abundance of Phesants, Partriges, Quailes, Railes, Cranes, Herons, and all other fowle: Deere of all sorts, Porkes, Hares, Lions, Tygers, Leopards, and divers other sortes of beastes, either for chase, or food. It hath a kind of beast called Cama, or Anta, as bigge as an English beefe, and in great plentie.

To speake of the severall sorts of every kind, I feare would be troublesome to the Reader, and therefore I will omit them, and conclude that both for health, good ayre, pleasure, and riches I am resolved it cannot bee equalled by any region either in the East or West.

The holsomenesse of the countrey.

Moreover the countrey is so healthfull, as of an hundred persons & more (which lay without shift most sluttishly, and were every day almost melted with heate in rowing and marching, and suddenly wet againe with great showers, and did eate of all sorts of corrupt fruits, and made meales of fresh fish without seasoning, of Tortugas, of Lagartos or Crocodiles, and of all sorts good and bad, without either order or measure, and besides lodged in the open aire every night) we lost not any one, nor had one ill disposed to my knowledge, nor found any Calentura, or other of those pestilent diseases which dwell in all hot regions, and so neere the Equinoctiall line.

Gold.

Where there is store of gold, it is in effect needlesse to remember other commodities for trade: but it hath towards the South part of the river, great quantities of

Brasil wood.

Brasil-wood, and diverse berries that die a most perfect

Excellent dyes.

crimson and carnation: And for painting, all France, Italy, or the East Indies yeelde none such: For the more the skin is washed, the fairer the colour appeareth, and

with which, even those browne and tawnie women spot themselves, and colour their cheekes. All places yeeld abundance of cotton, of silke, of balsamum, and of those kindes most excellent, and never knowen in Europe, of all sortes of gummes, of Indian pepper: and what else the countries may afford within the land we knowe not, neither had we time to abide the triall, and search. The soile besides is so excellent and so full of rivers, as it will carrie sugar, ginger, and all those other commodities, which the West Indies have.

Cotton, silke, Balsamum, gummes, and pepper.

[III. 661.]

The navigation is short, for it may be sayled with an ordinarie winde in sixe weekes, and in the like time backe againe, and by the way neither lee shore, enemies coast, rockes, nor sandes, all which in the voyages to the West Indies, and all other places we are subject unto, as the chanell of Bahama, comming from the West Indies, cannot well be passed in the Winter, & when it is at the best, it is a perilous and a fearefull place. The rest of the Indies for calmes, and diseases very troublesome, and the sea about the Bermudas a hellish sea for thunder, lightning, and stormes.

The short, easie, and commodious navigation to Guiana.

This very yeere* there were seventeene sayle of Spanish ships lost in the chanell of Bahama, and the great Philip like to have sunke at the Bermudas was put backe to Saint Juan de Puerto rico. And so it falleth out in that Navigation every yeere for the most part, which in this voyage are not to be feared: for the time of yeere to leave England is best in July, and the Summer in Guiana is in October, November, December, Januarie, Februarie, and March, and then the ships may depart thence in Aprill, and so returne againe into England in June, so as they shall never be subject to Winter-weather, either comming, going, or staying there: which for my part, I take to be one of the greatest comforts and incouragements that can be thought on, having (as I have done) tasted in this voyage by the West Indies so many calmes, so much heat, such outragious gustes, foule weather, and contrarie windes.

1595.

To conclude, Guiana is a countrey that hath yet her maydenhead, never sackt, turned, nor wrought, the face of the earth hath not bene torne, nor the vertue and salt of the soyle spent by manurance, the graves have not bene opened for golde, the mines not broken with sledges, nor their Images puld downe out of their temples. It hath never bene entered by any armie of strength, and never conquered or possessed by any christian Prince. It is besides so defensible, that if two forts be builded in one of the Provinces which I have seene, the flood setteth in so neere the banke, where the channell also lyeth, that no ship can passe up but within a Pikes length of the artillerie, first of the one, and afterwards of the other: Which two Forts will be a sufficient guarde both to the Empire of Inga, and to an hundred other several kingdomes, lying within the said river, even to the citie of Quito in Peru.

There is therefore great difference betweene the easinesse of the conquest of Guiana, and the defence of it being conquered, and the West or East Indies: Guiana hath but one entrance by the sea (if it hath that) for any vessels of burden: so as whosoever shall first possesse it, it shall be found unaccessible for any enemie, except he come in Wherries, Barges, or Canoas, or else in flat bottomed boates, and if he doe offer to enter it in that manner, the woods are so thicke two hundred miles together upon the rivers of such entrance, as a mouse cannot sit in a boat unhit from the banke. By lande it is more impossible to approch, for it hath the strongest situation of any region under the sunne, and is so environed with impassable mountaines on every side, as it is impossible to victuall any company in the passage: which hath bene well prooved by the Spanish nation, who since the conquest of Peru have never left five yeeres free from attempting this Empire, or discovering some way into it, and yet of three and twentie severall Gentlemen, Knights, and Noble men, there was never any that knewe which way to leade an army by land, or to con-

duct shippes by sea, any thing neere the saide countrie. Orellana, of whom the river of Amazones taketh name, was the first, and Don Antonio de Berreo (whom we displanted) the last: and I doubt much, whether he himselfe or any of his yet know the best way into the sayde Empire. It can therefore hardly be regained, if any strength be formerly set downe, but in one or two places, and but two or three crumsters or gallies built, and furnished upon the river within: The West Indies have many portes, watering places, and landings, and nearer then three hundred miles to Guiana, no man can harbour a shippe, except he know one onely place, which is not learned in haste, and which I will undertake there is not any one of my companies that knoweth, whosoever hearkened most after it.

Besides by keeping one good Fort, or building one towne of strength, the whole Empire is guarded, and whatsoever companies shall be afterwardes planted within the land, although in twentie severall Provinces, those shall be able all to reunite themselves upon any occasion eyther by the way of one river, or be able to march by land without either wood, bogge, or mountaine: whereas in the West Indies there are fewe townes or Provinces that can succour or relieve one the other, eyther by land or sea: By land the countries are either desert, mountaynous, or strong enemies: by sea, if any man invade to the Eastward, those to the West cannot in many moneths turne against the brize and Eastern wind, besides the Spaniards are therein so dispersed, as they are no where strong, but in Nueva Espanna onely: the sharpe mountaines, the thornes, and poysoned [III. 662.] prickles, the sandie and deepe wayes in the valleys, the smothering heate and aire, and want of water in other places are their onely and best defence, which (because those nations that invade them are not victualled or provided to stay, neither have any place to friend adjoyning) doe serve them in steede of good armes and great multitudes.

The West Indies were first offered her Majesties grandfather by Columbus a stranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceipt, and besides it was then thought incredible that there were such and so many lands & regions never written of before. This Empire is made knowen to her Majestie by her owne vassall, and by him that oweth to her more duetie then an ordinary subject, so that it shall ill sort with the many graces and benefites which I have received to abuse her Highnesse, either with fables or imaginations. The countrey is alreadie discovered, many nations wonne to her Majesties love and obedience, and those Spaniardes which have latest and longest laboured about the conquest, beaten out, discouraged and disgraced, which among these nations were thought invincible. Her Majestie may in this enterprize employ all those souldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captaines and chieftaines that want employment, and the charge will be onely the first setting out in victualling and arming them: for after the first or second yeere I doubt not but to see in London a Contractation house of more receipt for Guiana, then there is now in Sivill for the West Indies.

And I am resolved that if there were but a small army a foote in Guiana, marching towards Manoa the chiefe citie of Inga, he would yeeld to her Majestie by composition so many hundred thousand pounds yeerely, as should both defend all enemies abroad, and defray all expences at home, and that he would besides pay a garrison of three or foure thousand souldiers very royally to defend him against other nations: For he cannot but knowe, how his predecessors, yea how his owne great uncles Guascar and Atabalipa sonnes to Guainacapa Emperour of Peru, were (while they contended for the Empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late yeres and ever since the said conquest, the Spaniards have sought the passages and entrey of his countrey: and of their cruelties used to the

borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which respects no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladnesse, if not, he hath neither shot nor yron weapon in all his Empire, and therefore may easily be conquered.

And I farther remember that Berreo confessed to me and others (which I protest before the Majestie of God to be true) that there was found among prophesies in Peru (at such time as the Empire was reduced to the Spanish obedience) in their chiefest temples, amongst divers others which foreshewed the losse of the said Empire, that from Inglatierra those Ingas should be againe in time to come restored, and delivered from the servitude of the said Conquerours. And I hope, as we with these few hands have displanted the first garrison, and driven them out of the said countrey, so her Majestie will give order for the rest, and either defend it, and hold it as tributary, or conquere and keepe it as Empresse of the same. For whatsoever Prince shall possesse it, shall be greatest, and if the king of Spaine enjoy it, he will become unresistable. Her Majestie hereby shall confirme and strengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the Dominion and Empire of the Amazones, those women shall hereby heare the name of a virgin, which is not onely able to defend her owne territories and her neighbours, but also to invade and conquer so great Empires and so farre removed.

To speake more at this time, I feare would be but troublesome: I trust in God, this being true, will suffice, and that he which is King of all Kings and Lord of Lords, will put it into her heart which is Ladie of Ladies to possesse it, if not, I will judge those men worthy to be kings thereof, that by her grace and leave will undertake it of themselves.

[An abstract

An abstract taken out of certaine Spaniards letters concerning Guiana and the countries lying upon the great river Orenoque: with certaine reports also touching the same.

An advertisement to the Reader.

THose letters out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spaine in the yeere 1594. by Captaine George Popham: who the next yeere, and the same that Sir Walter Ralegh discovered Guiana, as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his returne, being two moneths after Sir [III. 663.] Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discoverie: he made knowen and delivered to some of her Majesties most honourable privie Councell & others. The which seeing they confirme in some part the substance, I meane, the riches of that countrey: it hath bene thought fit that they should be thereunto adjoyned. Wherein the Reader is to be advertised, that although the Spaniards seeme to glorie much of their formall possession taken before Morequito the Lord of Aromaya, and others thereabouts, which throughly understood them not at that time, whatsoever the Spaniards otherwise pretend: yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by Cayworaco, the sonne of Topiawary now chiefe Lord of the said Aromaya, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Ralegh, and was present at the same possession and discoverie of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters; it appeareth that after they were gone out of their countrey, the Indians then having farther consideration of the matter, and more then conjecture of their intent, having knowen and heard of their former

cruelties upon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere: At their next comming, there being ten of them sent and imployed for a farther discovery, they were provided to receive and entertaine them in an other maner of sort then they had done before; that is to say, they slew them and buried them in the countrey so much sought. They gave them by that meanes a full and complete possession, the which before they had but begunne. And so they are minded to doe, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they have had none since. Neither doe the Indians meane, as they protest, to give them any other. One other thing to be remembred is that in these letters the Spaniards seeme to call Guiana and other countries neere it, bordering upon the river of Orenoque, by the name of Nueva Dorado, because of the great plentie of golde there in most places to be found. Alluding also to the name of El Dorado which was given by Martinez to the great citie of Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to advertise. As for some other matters, I leave them to the consideration and judgement of the indifferent Reader. W. R.

Letters taken at sea by Captaine George Popham. 1594.

Alonso his letter from the Gran Canaria to his brother being commander of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

THere have bene certaine letters received here of late, of a land newly discovered called Nuevo Dorado, from the sonnes of certaine inhabitants of this citie, who were in the discovery: they write of wonderfull riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that golde there is in great abundance: the course to fall with it is fiftie leagues to the windeward of Margarita.

[Alonsos letter

Alonsos letter from thence to certaine Marchantes of Sant Lucar concerning El Dorado.

SIrs, we have no newes worth the writing, saving of a discovery lately made by the Spaniardes in a new land called Nuevo Dorado, which is two dayes sayling to the windward of Margarita: there is golde in such abundance, as the like hath not bene heard of. Wee have it for certaine in letters written from thence by some that were in the discoverie, unto their parents here in this citie. I purpose (God willing) to bestow tenne or twelve dayes in search of the said Dorado, as I passe in my voyage towards Carthagena, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I have sent you therewith part of the information of the said discoverie, that was sent to his Majestie.

Part of the Copie that was sent to his Majestie, of the discovery of Nuevo Dorado.

IN the river of Pato otherwise called Orenoque, in the principall part thereof called Warismero, the 23 of April 1593 Domingo de Vera master of the campe, and Generall for Antonio de Berreo Governour and Captaine generall for our lord the king, betwixt the rivers of Pato and Papamene alias Orenoque, and Marrannon, and of the Iland of Trinidad, in presence of me Rodrigo de Caranza Register for the sea, commanded
[III. 664.] all the souldiers to be drawen together and put in order of battaile, the Captaines and souldiers, and Master of the campe standing in the middest of them, said unto them: Sirs, Souldiers, and Captaines, you understand long since that our General Antonio de Berreo, with the travell of eleven yeeres, and expence of more then an hundred thousand pezos of golde, discovered the royall Provinces of Guiana and Dorado: of the which he tooke possession to governe the same, but through want of his peoples health, and necessarie munition, he issued out at the Iland Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad.

But now they have sent me to learne out and discover the wayes most easily to enter, and to people the said Provinces, and where the campes and armies may best enter the same. By reason wherof I intend so to doe in the name of his Majestie, and the saide governour Antonio de Berreo, and in token thereof I require you Francis Carillo, that you aide mee to advance this crosse that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end towardes the East, and the said Master of the campe, the captaines and souldiers kneeled downe, and did due reverence unto the saide crosse, and thereupon the master of the campe tooke a bowle of water and dranke it off, and tooke more and threw abroad on the ground: he also drewe out his sworde and cut the grasse off the ground, and the boughes off the trees saying, I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip our master, and of his Governour Antonio de Berreo: and because some make question of this possession, to them I answere, that in these our actions was present the Cassique, or principall Don Antonio, otherwise called Morequito, whose land this was, who yeelded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gave his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said Governour Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the campe kneeled downe being in his libertie, and all the Captaines and souldiers said, that the possession was well taken, and that they would defend it with their lives, upon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said master of the campe having his sword drawen in his hand saide unto me: Register, that art here present, give me an instrument or testimoniall to confirme me in this possession, which I have taken of this land, for the Governour Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needefull I will take it a newe. And I require you all that are present to witnesse the same, and do further declare that I will goe on, taking the possession of all these landes wheresoever I shall enter. Signed thus. Domingo de Vera, and underneath, Before me Rodrigo de Caranza, Register of the armie.

AND in prosecution of the said possession, and the discoverie of the way and Provinces, the 27 of April of the said yeere, the master of the campe entred by little and little with all the campe and men of warre, more then two leagues into the in-land, and came to a towne of a principall, and conferring with him did let him understand by meanes of Antonio Bisante the Interpretor, that his Majestie and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said frier Francis Carillo by the Interpretor, delivered him certain things of our holy Catholique faith, to all which he answered, that they understood him well and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should advance the crosse, in what part or place of the towne it pleased them, for he was for the Governour Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the campe tooke a great crosse, and set it on end towarde the East, and requested the whole campe to witnesse it, and Domingo de Vera firmed it thus.

It is well and firmely done. And underneath. Before me Rodrigo Caranza, Register of the armie.

THE first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discoverie to the towne on Carapana. From thence the said Master of the campe passed to the towne of Toroco whose principall is called Topiawary being five leagues farther within the land then the first Nation, and well inhabited. And to this principall by meane of the Interpretor they gave to understand that his Majestie and the said Corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that lande, and that they should yeelde their obedience to his Majestie, and to his Corrigidor, and to the master of the campe in his name, and that in token therof he would place a crosse in the middle of his towne. Whereunto the said Cassique answered they should advance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said Governour Antonio de Berreo whose vassall he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a Province above five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people, the principall of this people came and met us in peaceable maner: and he is called Revato, he brought us to a very large house where he entertained us well, and gave us much Golde, and the interpreter asking him from whence [III. 665.] that golde was, he answered, From a Province not passing a dayes journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadowe the sunne, and so much Golde as all yonder plaine will not conteine it. In which Countrey (when they enter into the Borracheras or their drunken feasts) they take of the said Golde in dust and anoynt themselves all over therewith to make the braver shew; and to the end the Golde may cover them, they anoynt their bodies with stamped herbes of a glewy substance: & they have warre with those Indians. They promised us that if we would goe unto them, they would ayde us; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they gat ye same Gold, they told us they went to a certaine Downe or playne, and pulled or digged up the grasse by the roote: which done, they tooke of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they caried to wash at the river, and that which came in powder they kept for their Borracheras or drunken feasts: and that which was in peeces they wrought into Eagles.

The eight of May wee went from thence, and marched about five leagues: at the foote of a Hill wee found a principall called Arataco with three thousand Indians, men and women all in peace with much victuall, as Hennes and Venison in great abundance, and many sortes of wine. Hee intreated us to goe to his house, and to rest that night in his Towne, being of five hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence hee had those Hennes: he sayde they were brought from a mountaine not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea so many as grasse on the ground, and that these men had the points of their shoulders

higher then the Crownes of their heads, and had so many Hennes as was wonderfull; and if wee would have any, wee should send them Jewes harpes, for they would give for every one two Hennes. Wee tooke an Indian, and gave him five hundred Harpes; the Hennes were so many that hee brought us, as were not to be numbred. Wee sayde wee would goe thither; they tolde us they were now in their Borracheras or drunken feasts, and would kill us. Wee asked the Indian that brought the Hennes, if it were true; hee sayde it was most true. Wee asked him how they made their Borracheras or drunken feasts; hee sayde, they had many Eagles of golde hanging on their breasts, and Pearles in their eares, and that they daunced being all covered with Golde. The Indian sayde unto us, if wee would see them, wee should give him some Hatchets, and he would bring us of those Eagles. The Master of the Campe gave him one Hatchet (hee would give him no more because they should not understand we went to seeke golde) he brought us an Eagle that weighed 27. pounds of good Golde. The Master of the Campe tooke it, and shewed it to the souldiers, and then threw it from him, making shewe not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian and sayd unto him, Give mee a Pickeaxe, and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders meane to doe. The Interpreter tolde the Master of the Campe, who commanded one to be given him: hee then tolde us, those Indians were comming to kill us for our marchandize. Hereupon the Master of the Campe caused his company to bee set in order, and beganne to march. The eleventh day of May wee went about seven leagues from thence to a Province, where wee found a great company of Indians apparelled: they tolde us that if wee came to fight, they would fill up those Plaines with Indians to fight with us; but if wee came in peace, wee should enter and bee well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians: and there they tolde us of all the

Indians with high shoulders.

riches that was. I doe not heere set it downe, because there is no place for it, but it shall appeare by the information that goeth to his Majestie: for if it should heere bee set downe, foure leaves of paper would not containe it.

The Letter of George Burien Britton from the sayde Canaries unto his cousin a Frenchman dwelling in S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.

SIr, and my very good cousin, there came of late certaine Letters from a new discovered countrey not farre from Trinidad, which they write, hath Golde in great abundance: the newes seemeth to bee very certaine, because it passeth for good amongst the best of this Citie. Part of the information of the Discovery that went to his Majestie, goeth inclosed in Alonsos letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.

The report of Domingo Martinez of Jamaica concerning El Dorado.

HE sayth that in 1593. being at Carthagena, there was a generall report of a late discovery called Nuevo Dorado, and that a litle before his comming thither, there came a Frigat from the said Dorado, [III. 666.] bringing in it the portrature of a Giant all of Gold, of weight 47. kintals, which the Indians there held for their Idoll. But now admitting of Christianitie and obedience to the king of Spaine, they sent their sayd Idol unto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their King. The company comming in the said Frigat, reported Golde to be there in most abundance, Diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearle.

[The report

The report of a French man called Bountillier of Sherbrouke, concerning Trinidad and Dorado.

1591. HE saith that beeing at Trinidad in 1591. he had of an Indian there a peece of Golde of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the sayde Indian tolde him hee had it at the head of that river which *Paracoa.* commeth to Paracoa in Trinidad: and that within the River of Orenoque, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593. beeing taken by the Spanyardes, and brought prisoner into the Iland of Madera (the place for his prison) there came in this meane time a Barke of fortie Tunnes from a new Discovery, with two millions of Golde; the company whereof reported Golde in that place to bee in great abundance, and called it El Nuevo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spaine in the Barke, and having a cabben neere a gentleman, one of the Discoverers that came from that place in the sayde Barke, had divers times conference with him, and amongst other things, of the great abundance of Golde in the sayd Dorado, being as they sayd within the river of Orenoque.

Reportes of certaine Marchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nuevo Dorado.

THey sayd (advancing the kings great treasure in the Indies) that Nuevo Reyno yeelded very many Golde mines, and wonderfull rich; but lately was discovered a certaine Province so rich in Golde, as the report thereof may seeme incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nuevo Dorado: Antonio de Berreo made the said discoverie.

The report of a Spanyard, Captaine with Berreo in the discoverie of El Nuevo Dorado.

THat the information sent to the King was in every poynt truely sayde, that the river Orenoque hath seven mouths, or outlets into the sea, called Las Siete bocas de dragon, that the sayd river runneth farre into the land, in many places very broad, and that Anth. de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to goe to conquere and people the sayd Dorado.

A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the yeere 1596. by Laurence Keymis Gent.

To the approved, Right Valorous, and worthy Knight, Sir Walter Ralegh, Lord warden of the Stanneries, Captaine of her Majesties Guard, and her Highnesse Lieutenant generall of the Countie of Cornewall.

Have here briefly set downe the effect of this your second Discoverie without any enlargement of made wordes: for in this argument, single speech best beseemeth a simple trueth. Where the affinitie of the matter with your person, leadeth mee to write of your selfe, unto your selfe, that small libertie which I have therein used, shall, I doubt not, without offence or sinister construction, be given to the cause in hand: which, whether it suffer not detriment, by attributing lesse then of right belongeth; the judgement bee theirs, that uprightly and indifferently shall weigh the consequents of their evill purpose, who in seeking to detract from the Author of these Discoveries, doe so much as in them lieth, wound, deface, & tread under foot the thing it selfe. But this is no novelty, nor proper only to these our dayes. For long since it hath bin said, Laudes eo usque sunt tolerabiles, donec ea dicuntur, quæ auditores se quoque *Pericles.*

facere posse existimant: simajora proferantur, invident, non credunt. The fervent zeale & loyalty of your minde in labour with this birth of so honorable expectation, as it hath deserved a recompence farre different, so needeth it not my poore suffrage to endeare the [III. 667.] toyle, care, and danger that you have willingly undergone for the good and advancement of our weale publique. The praise-worthinesse thereof doeth approve it selfe, and is better read in your living doings, then in my dead unregarded papers. All that I can wish, is that my life were a sufficient pledge, to justifie, how much more easie, and more materiall, the course for Guiana would bee then others, which requiring greater charge, yeelde not so large benefit, and are subject to more doubtfull events. If unto their wisdomes who sit in place and authority, it shall appeare otherwise, and that in following of other attempts there is lesse difficultie, certainer profit, and needfuller offence unto the enemie: the cost and travaile which you have bestowed, shall not, I hope, be altogether lost, if unto your Honour I can prove how, and where the amends is to be had, maugre the force and prevention of all Spaniards.

Your Lordships to be commanded in all service,

LAURENCE KEYMIS.

To the Favourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

IN things earnestly desired, though never so likely, we are still suspicious: thinking it more credite to our common wisedome, to discredite most noble and profitable indevours with distrust, then touch to our valours and safeties, to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoever an action well and judicially attempted, bee esteemed halfe performed; yet is this my jealous conceite concerning Guiana, that nothing is begun, before all be ended. In this regarde (gentle Reader) I have presumed to burthen thine eares with the weake plea of a good

cause, and in stead of opening it throughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only mine owne unsatisfied affection: hoping that because I doe name Guiana unto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe hoc nomine, to vaile and cover all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this Treatise, my labor principally tendeth to this end; to remove all fig-leaves from our unbeliefe, that either it may have cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorance: or if we will not be perswaded; that our selfe-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing, to serve the Spaniard his turne so well as our owne; in so much as it may seeme to instruct, warne, and arme him: for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, doe as effectually informe him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly advertised by some corrupt hireling, that we thinke, write, and discourse of nothing els. Neither can I imagine, that to conceale our knowledge herein (which to conceale may perhaps prove, & be hereafter taken for worse then paricide) would be of better purpose, then to hood winke our selves, as who would say, No man shall see us. Besides, if the action were wholy to bee effected at her Majesties charge; then might it at her Highnesse pleasure be shadowed with some other drift, and never be discovered, untill it were acted. But since it craveth the approbation and purses of many Adventurers, who cannot be so prodigall both of their possessions and lives, as voluntarily to run themselves out of breath, in pursuing they know not what: great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yeelded to perswade & induce them unto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, unsetled, & uncertaine in his determinations, as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his Bulwarks; nor so slow as to expect a precedent of our forwardnes. His proceedings are suffi-

ciently strengthened with the travailes, reports, & substantial proofes of his own men, that have above 60. yeres beaten round about this bush. And to say a trueth, the expedition that he hath used in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, & disappoint us; as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinewes to consist in golde: so doeth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobrate our remisnesse & long deliberations, that in 12. moneths space have done, or sought to doe nothing worthy the ancient fame & reputation of our English nation, interessed in so weighty businesse. *His late provision of a new supply of whole families to the number of 600. persons, bound for Guiana, but that it pleased God, that by meanes of that right honourable service most resolutely performed in the sea-fight, and sacking of Cadiz, the ships wherein they should have bin conveyed, were converted into ashes: what might it signifie? Certes, as it doth evidently prove, that El Dorado hath undoubted credit & account in their judgements: so pointeth it at us, whilst we only to entertain idle time, sit listening for Guiana newes, & instantly forget it, as if it were nought els, but a pleasing dreame of a golden fancy. If we with our selves shall expostulate, how this commeth to passe, that the advantage wholy resting on our side, in respect that Berreo was this last yere beaten out, the countrey throughly discovered, & the Inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Majesties happy government; they notwithstanding by entring before us, have now gotten ye start of us: what may we thinke? Shal wee judge that their native countrey is lesse deare, or more wearisome unto them, then ours is unto us? Their Peruleri, who going bare & empty out of Spaine, do againe within 3. or 4. yeres returne from Peru, rich and in good estate, doe apparently disprove all such conceits of them. Shall wee say that they have more spare men to be imployed in such actions? It is no secret to

In June 1596.

[III. 668.]

know the contrary. Are they subject to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentifull. Or is their land not able to sustain their numbers of people? They buy many slaves to follow their husbandry, & themselves disdaining base idlenes & beggery, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability, in those that are willing, lacke of incouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that doe voluntarily offer themselves, their substance, & best indevour to further this cause; that maketh us to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The first is no question. The later needeth no answere. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is, not to loose opportunitie by delay, or to seeme feareful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doeth no way prejudice our advised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of Negros to worke in the mynes, their horses, cattell, and other necessaries may (by the favour of God) at our first comming, both store us with quantities of gold oare, and ease us of much trouble, paines, and travaile. If we should suppose our selves now to live in the dayes of King Henry the seventh of famous memory, and the strange report of a West Indies, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice us to beleeve it: perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the gravity of wise men, lightly to bee carried with the perswasion and hope of a new found Utopia, by such a one as Columbus was, being an alien, and many wayes subject to suspition. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth even now heavy on our shoulders; the example forethreatning, I know not what repentance: and that we have the personal triall of so honourable and sufficient a Reporter, our own Countriman: let it be farre from us to condemne our selves in that, which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors; and to let our idle

knowledge content it selfe with naked contemplation, like a barren wombe in a Monastery. We cannot denie that the chiefe commendation of vertue doth consist in action: we truely say, that Otium is animæ vivæ sepultura: we beleeve, that perfect wisedome in this mobility of all humaine affaires, refuseth not with any price to purchase safetie: and we justly do acknowledge that the Castilians from bare legged mountainers have atteined to their greatnesse by labour & industrie. To sleepe then, because it costeth nothing; to imbrace the present time, because it flattereth us with deceitfull contentment; and to kisse security, saying, What evill happeneth unto us? is the plaine high way to a fearefull downfall: from which the Lord in his mercy deliver us, and give us an understanding heart, in time to see, and to seeke that, which belongeth unto our peace.

De Guiana carmen Epicum.

Hat worke of honour and eternall name,
For all the world t'envie and us t'atchieve,
Filles me with furie, and gives armed hands
To my hearts peace, that els would gladly turne
My limmes and every sense into my thoughts
Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?
O Clio, Honors Muse, sing in my voyce,
Tell the attempt, and prophecie th'exploit
Of his Eliza-consecrated sworde,
That in this peacefull charme of Englands sleepe,
Opens most tenderly her aged throte,
Offring to powre fresh youth through all her vaines,
That flesh of brasse and ribs of steele retaines.
Riches, and Conquest, and Renowme I sing,
[III. 669.] Riches with honour, Conquest, without blood,
Enough to seat the Monarchie of earth,

Like to Joves Eagle on Elizas hand.
Guiana, whose rich feete are mines of golde,
Whose forehead knockes against the roofe of Starres,
Stands on her tip-toes at faire England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mightie breast,
And every signe of all submission making,
To be her sister, and the daughter both
Of our most sacred Maide: whose barrennesse
Is the true fruite of vertue, that may get,
Beare and bring forth anew in all perfection,
What heretofore savage corruption held
In barbarous Chaos; and in this affaire
Become her father, mother, and her heire.

Then most admired Soveraigne, let your breath
Goe foorth upon the waters, and create
A golden world in this our yron age,
And be the prosperous forewind to a Fleete,
That seconding your last, may goe before it
In all successe of profite and renowme:
Doubt not but your election was divine,
(Aswell by Fate as your high judgement ordred)
To raise him with choise Bounties, that could adde
Height to his height; and like a liberall vine,
Not onely beare his vertuous fruite aloft,
Free from the Presse of squint-eyd Envies feete,
But decke his gracious Proppe with golden bunches,
And shroude it with broad leaves of Rule oregrowne
From all blacke tempests of invasion.

Those Conquests that like generall earthquakes shooke
The solid world, and made it fall before them,
Built all their brave attempts on weaker grounds,
And lesse perswasive likelihoods then this;
Nor was there ever princely Fount so long
Powr'd forth a sea of Rule with so free course,
And such ascending Majestie as you:
Then be not like a rough and violent wind,

That in the morning rends the Forrests downe,
Shoves up the seas to heaven, makes earth to tremble,
And toombes his wastfull bravery in the Even:
But as a river from a mountaine running,
The further he extends the greater growes,
And by his thriftie race strengthens his streame,
Even to joyne battell with th'imperious sea
Disdayning his repulse, and in despight
Of his proud furie, mixeth with his maine,
Taking on him his titles and commandes:
So let thy soveraigne Empire be encreast,
And with Iberian Neptune part the stake,
Whose Trident he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wise in Wisdomes spight,
Directing with discredite of direction,
And hunt-for honour, hunting him to death.
With whom before you will inherite gold,
[III. 670.] You will loose golde, for which you loose your soules;
You that chuse nought for right, but certaintie,
And feare that valour will get onely blowes,
Placing you faith in Incredulitie.
Sit till you see a wonder, Vertue rich:
Till Honour having golde, rob golde of honour,
Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,
They loath all getting that deserves not ought;
And use you gold-made men as dregges of men;
And till your poysoned soules, like Spiders lurking
In sluttish chinckes, in mystes of Cobwebs hide
Your foggie bodies and your dunghill pride.

O Incredulitie, the wit of Fooles,
That slovenly will spit on all things faire,
The Cowards castle, and the Sluggards cradle
How easie t'is to be an Infidel?

But you Patrician Spirites that refine
Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame

On brave indevours, knowing that in them
The tract of heaven in morne-like glory opens,
That know you cannot be the Kings of earth,
(Claiming the Rights of your creation)
And let the Mynes of earth be Kings of you;
That are so farre from doubting likely drifts,
That in things hardest y'are most confident:
You that know death lives, where power lives unusde,
Joying to shine in waves that burie you,
And so make way for life even through your graves;
That will not be content like horse to hold
A thread-bare beaten way to home affaires:
But where the sea in envie of your reigne,
Closeth her wombe, as fast as t'is disclosde,
That she like Avarice might swallow all,
And let none find right passage through her rage:
There your wise soules as swift as Eurus lead
Your Bodies through, to profit and renowne,
And skorne to let your bodies choke your soules,
In the rude breath and prisoned life of beastes:
You that herein renounce the course of earth,
And lift your eyes for guidance to the starres,
That live not for yourselves, but to possesse
Your honour'd countrey of a generall store;
In pitie of the spoyle rude selfe-love makes,
Of them whose lives and yours one ayre doth feede,
One soile doeth nourish, and one strength combine;
You that are blest with sence of all things noble,
In this attempt your compleat woorthes redouble.

But how is Nature at her heart corrupted,
(I meane even in her most ennobled birth)
How in excesse of Sence is Sence bereft her!
That her most lightening-like effects of lust
Wound through her flesh, her soule, her flesh unwounded;
And she must neede incitements to her good,
Even from that part she hurtes! O how most like

[III. 671.] Art thou (heroike Autor of this Act)
To this wrong'd soule of Nature that sustainst
Paine, charge, and perill for thy countreys good,
And she much like a bodie numb'd with surfeits,
Feeles not thy gentle applications
For the health, use, and honour of her powers!
Yet shall my verse through all her ease-lockt eares
Trumpet the Noblesse of thy high intent:
And if it cannot into act proceed,
The fault and bitter penance of the fault
Make red some others eyes with penitence,
For thine are cleare; and what more nimble spirits,
Apter to byte at such unhooked baytes
Gaine by our losse; that must we needs confesse
Thy princely valure would have purchast us.
Which shall be fame eternall to thy name,
Though thy contentment in thy grave desires,
Of our advancement, faile deserv'd effect.
O how I feare thy glory which I love,
Least it should dearely grow by our decrease.
Natures that sticke in golden-graveld springs,
In mucke-pits cannot scape their swallowings.

But we shall foorth I know; Golde is our Fate,
Which all our actes doth fashion and create.

Then in the Thespiads bright Propheticke Fount,
Me thinkes I see our Liege rise from her throne,
Her eares and thoughts in steepe amaze erected,
At the most rare endevour of her power.
And now she blesseth with her woonted Graces
Th'industrious Knight, the soule of this exploit,
Dismissing him to convoy of his starres.
And now for love and honour of his woorth,
Our twise-borne Nobles bring him Bridegroome-like,
That is espousde for vertue to his love
With feasts and musicke, ravishing the aire,
To his Argolian Fleet, where round about

His bating Colours English valure swarmes
In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque
With his Fell waters fell upon our shore.
And now a wind as forward as their spirits,
Sets their glad feet on smooth Guianas breast,
Where (as if ech man were an Orpheus)
A world of Savages fall tame before them,
Storing their theft-free treasuries with golde,
And there doth plentie crowne their wealthie fields,
There Learning eates no more his thriftlesse bookes,
Nor Valure Estridge-like his yron armes.
There Beautie is no strumpet for her wants,
Nor Gallique humours putrifie her blood:
But all our Youth take Hymens lights in hand,
And fill eche roofe with honor'd progenie.
There makes Societie Adamantine chaines,
And joyns their hearts with wealth, whom wealth dis-
join'd.
There healthfull Recreations strow their meades,
And make their mansions daunce with neighbourhood,
That here were drown'd in churlish Avarice.
And there do Pallaces and temples rise [III. 672.]
Out of the earth, and kisse th'enamored skies,
Where new Britannia humblie kneeles to heaven,
The world to her, and, both at her blest feet,
In whom the circles of all Empire meete.

G. C.

Ad Thomam Hariotum Matheseos, & universæ Philosophiæ peritissimum, de Guiana Carmen. Dat. Anno. 1595.

MOntibus est Regio, quasi muris, obsita, multis:
Circumsepit aquis quos Raleana suis.
Intus habet largos Guiana recessus:
Hostili gestans libera colla jugo.
Hispanus clivis illis sudavit, & alsit
Septem annos, novies: nec tamen invaluit.

Numen, & omen inest numeris. Fatale sit illi:
Et nobis virtus sit recidiva, precor.
Gualtero patefacta via est duce & auspice Ralegh
Mense uno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?
Nocte diéque; datis velis, remisque laborans,
Exegit summæ dexteritatis opus.
Scilicet expensis magnis non ille pepercit,
Communi natus consuluisse bono.
Providus excubuit simili discrimine Joseph:
Sic fratres, fratrem deseruêre suum:
Fama coloratam designet sibona, vestem:
Vestis Scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.
Mira leges. Auresque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus
Hæc aurum, & gemmas graminis instar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum est: ibi prodiga terra quotannis
Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.
Anglia nostra licet dives sit, & undique fœlix:
Anglia, si confers, indigna frugis erit.
Expertes capitum, volucres piscesque ferásque;
Prætereo: haud prosunt, quæ novitate, placent.
Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:
Det Deus, hanc Canaan possideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantiss. L. K.

The second voyage to Guiana.

SUnday the 26. of January, in the yeere of our Lord 1596. we departed from Portland road, in the Darling of London, having in company the Discoverer, a small pinnesse, whom we lost at sea, in foule weather, the Thursday next following. Friday, the 13. of February, wee fell with the Canarie Islands, where we expected our pinnesse, according to our appoyntment, seven or eight dayes. Here we tooke two boats, the one a passenger, we bulged, the other wee towed at our shippe sterne, steering South-southwest for the Islands of Cape Verde. Therehence we set saile the 28. of Februarie, keeping a Westsouthwest

They fall with the Canary Isles.

Cape Verde.

course. In this passage wee found very smooth seas, faire weather, and steddie winds, blowing ordinarily betweene the East and Northeast poynts. Neere 30. leagues from these Islands, wee came into a growne sea, the swollen waters making a strange noise & hurtling together, as if it might be two strong currents encountring ech other. The 12. of March wee sounded, and had sandie ground in 47. fathome. At midnight in twelve fathom wee came to an anker, the ground sandie oaze. Sunday the 14. towards night, about some sixe leagues from the shore, wee descried a low land in the bottome of a bay. From the 9. of March untill this time, we kept for the most part a South-southwest course. The water in this place is smooth, but muddie, and the colour red or tawny. From the Wester-most of the Cape Verde-Islands unto this Bay I doe [III. 673.] estimate the distance to be neere 550. leagues. It seemed to most of our sea-men, to be the very banke of a shoald upon a lee-shore: the rather because without it, in the cleane greene sea wee had but 7. fathome depth: but after by proofe finding that there is no sudden alteration in any part of the coast, and that the sea is smoothest neere the land, we alwayes at night sought to anker in three or foure fathome. And doubtlesse as the hand of God is woonderfull in all his workes: so herein his mercifull providence is most admirable, that upon a lee-shore subject unto a perpetuall Easterly gale, neither much wind can endanger shipping, by reason that the foule heavie water is not capable of vehement motion, and the soft light oaze, if they touch, cannot bruise them: nor is there any jeopardie in beeing wind-bound, or imbayed: for the most forcible windes make the greatest flood-tides, whereby the freshets when they take their ordinarie course of ebbe, doe grow strong and swift, setting directly off to sea against the wind. Wee by turning went cleere of all Bayes: howbeit in this case, as also in the rivers, the use of a drove sayle seemeth a good and readie helpe. The first place wherein wee ankered, was in the mouth of Arrowari, a faire and great

A notable observation.

They anker in the mouth of Arrowari situate in one deg. 40. minutes.

river. It standeth in one degree and fourtie minutes: for we fell so farre to the Southwardes by your lordships direction. The barre without hath at the least three fathome, at the shoaldest place, when it is lowe ebbe. The depth within is eight and tenne fathome. The water alwayes brackish. We found not any inhabitants in this place neere the sea coast. I omit here to recite the names of the nations that are borderers, their townes, Captaines and commodities that their countreyes doe yeelde, as also the soundings, tydes, and how the coast lyeth &c. thinking it fittest to reduce these disjoyned and scattering remembrances to one place. As wee passed we alwayes kept the shore within viewe and stopped the floods, still ankering at night in three or foure fathome. When we came to the North headland of this Bay (which wee named Cape Cecyl) we sawe two high mountaines like two islands, but they joyne with the mayne. In this tract lying Northnorthwest neere 60. leagues, there fall into the sea these severall great rivers, Arrowari, Iwaripoco, Maipari, Coanawini, Caipurogh. Wee ankered in two fathome not farre from these hilles, and filled all our caske with fresh water by the shippe side, for in the sea thirtie miles from the mouth of any river it is fresh and good. This second Bay extendeth it selfe above thirtie leagues to the Westward, and containeth within it these rivers Arcooa, Wiapoco, Wanari, Caparwacka, Cawo, Caian, Wia, Macuria, Cawroor, Curassawini. Here leaving the ship at anker, I tooke into the boate John Provost, my Indian Interpreter, John Linsey, and eight or nine others, intending to search some of these rivers, and to seeke speech with the Indians. In Wiapoco, at the foote of the Eastermost mountaine, where the river falleth into the sea, wee found twentie or thirtie houses, but not inhabited. Wee stayed there but one night. Wanari we overpassed, because the entrance is rockie and not deepe. In Caperwacka we sailed some fourtie miles, but could see no Indian. At one of their portes under the side of a hill, wee tooke in so much Brasill wood as our

A sea of fresh water.

boate could carrie. Amongst other trees we cut downe one for an example, which I do verily beleeve to be the same sort of sinamon, which is found in the streights of Magellan. From Caperwacka wee passed to Cawo, and there met with a Canoa, wherein were two Indians. It was long time before wee could procure them to come neere us, for they doubted least wee were Spanish. When my interpreter had perswaded them the contrarie, and that wee came from England, they without farther speech or delay, brought us to Wareo their Captaine, who entertained us most friendly, and then at large declared unto us, that hee was lately chased by the Spaniards from Moruga, one of the neighbour rivers to Raleana, or Orenoque: and that having burnt his owne houses, and destroyed his fruites and gardens, hee had left his countrey and townes to bee possessed by the Arwaccas who are a vagabound nation of Indians, which finding no certaine place of abode of their owne, doe for the most part serve and follow the Spanyards. Hee shewed me that he was of the nation of the Iaos, who are a mightie people, and of a late time were Lords of all the sea coast so farre as Trinidad, which they likewise possessed. Howbeit, that with a generall consent, when the Spanyards first began to borrow some of their wives, they all agreed to change their habitation, and doe now live united for the most part towards the river of Amazones. But the especiall cause of his present remoove was, because two or three yeeres past, twentie Spaniards came to his towne, and sought to take his best wife from him: but before they carried her away, hee at time and place of advantage killed halfe of them: the rest fledde, most of them sore hurt. Now in this case hee thought it best to dwell farre ynough from them. Your Indian pilot Ferdinando, who conducted you by Amana, and now abideth neere the head of Dessekebe, is one of this mans subjects: By whom (as it may seeme) hee hath taken good notice of our princesse and countrey. For hee descended more particularly to inquire what forces were come with us,

The Iaos a mightie nation.

Ferdinando the Indian pilote of sir Walter Ralegh. [III. 674.

assuring me of the Spaniards beeing in Trinidad, and that the Indians our friendes betwixt hope and feare, have earnestly expected our returne from England these foure or five moneths. When I had answered him, that at our departure we left no Spaniards alive to annoy them ; that we now came only to discover, and trade with them ; and that if her Majestie should have sent a power of men, where no enemie was to resist, the Indians might perhaps imagine, that wee came rather to invade, then to defend them: He replied, that this course very wel sorted with the report which they had heard of our Princesse justice, rare graces, and vertues: the fame of whose power in beeing able to vanquish the Spaniards, and singular goodnesse in undertaking to succour and defend the afflicted Indians, was now so generall, that the nations farre and neere were all agreed to joyne with us, and by all meanes possible to assist us in expelling and rooting out the Spaniards from all parts of the land: and that we were deceived, if wee thought this countrey not large ynough to receive us, without molestation or intrusion upon the Indians, who wanted not choise of dwelling-places, if they forsooke one to live in another: but stoode in neede of our presence at all times to ayde them, and maintaine their libertie, which to them is deerer then land or living. He then farther desired, that he with his people might have our favour against the Arwaccas, who not being content to enjoy their groundes and houses, had taken from them many of their wives and children, the best of whose fortune was, if they lived, to live in perpetuall slaverie under the Spaniards. Wee put him in good hope and comfort thereof. And hee to deserve some part of this friendship, commended unto us an elderly man to be our Pilote in bringing us to Raleana. When we were ready to depart, he demanded whether we wanted any Urapo, which is the wood, that is usually carried from these parts to Trinidad in Canoas, and is there sold to the French for trade: he offered, if we would bring our ship neere his port, to put in her lading thereof,

Brasil-wood.

But because most of our caske was not yron-bound, and in making stowage-way to remoove it, would have bene the losse of our Sider and other drinke; I therefore referred the taking of any quantity to fitter opportunitie: thinking it sufficient at this time, to have only my boats lading thereof: which afterwards in extremitie of foule weather, before we could get aboord our ship, wee were inforced in a darke night to heave all overboord: thinking our selves happy, to have recovered thither at seven dayes ende, with safetie of life onely. All which time wee could no where set foote on shore, but rested day and night wet and weatherbeaten in our covertlesse boate, which was sometimes ready to sinke under us. For wee had in this place without comparison more raine, wind, and gustes, then else where at any time. To bee briefe, my men became weake and sicke, and if wee had stayed any longer time out, I doubt whether the greatest part of us had ever come aboord againe. I afterwards understood by my Indian pilot, that this weather is for most part of the yeere usuall, neere the Island Oncaiarie, which lyeth North from the river Capurwacka some sixe leagues into the sea: and that they hold opinion how this Iland is kept by some evil spirit: for they verily beleeve, that to sleepe in the day time neere it (except it be after much drinke) is present death. The only season wherein little raine doth fal there, is (as I gathered by their speech, they dividing al times by their Moones) at our Winter Solstice. The mother-wind of this coast is for the most part to the Northward of the East, except when the Sunne is on this side of the Equinoctiall, for then it often veares Southerly, but most in the night. This our guid is of the Iaos, who doe al marke themselves, thereby to bee knowen from other nations after this maner. With the tooth of a small beast like a Rat, they race some their faces, some their bodies, after divers formes, as if it were with the scratch of a pin, the print of which rasure can never bee done away againe during life. When

Unseasonable weather about the Isle of Oncaiarie.

How the nation of the Iaos marke themselves to be knowen from other people.

he had sometime conversed with our Indians, that went from England with us, hee became willing to see our countrey. His sufficiencie, trustinesse, and knowledge is such, that if the pretended voyage for Guiana doe take place, you shall (I doubt not) find him many wayes able to steed your Lordship in your designes and purposes. For besides his precise knowledge of all the coast, and of the Indian townes and dwellings, he speaketh all their languages, was bred in Guiana, is a sworne brother to Putima, who slewe the Spaniards in their returne from Manoa, can direct us to many golde mines, and in nothing will undertake more, then hee assuredly will performe.

To the Westward this Bay hath many good roads under small Islands, whereof the greatest named Gowateri, is inhabited by the Shebaios: and besides the plenty of foule, fish, fruits, wilde porks and deere, which are there to be had; where Caiane falles into the sea, (for it standeth in the mouthes of Wia and Caiane) it yeeldes safe and good harbour in foure and five fathome for ships of great burthen. On all that coast we found not any like it: wee therefore honoured this place by the name of Port Howard. The road under Triangle Islands, which are the Westermost from the rest and stand in five degrees, which have also store of fish, foule, deere and Iwanas, is good, but not comparable with this other, where in all windes and weather, shippes, though they be many, may all ride securely. The hils and high lands are limits to this bay on ech side: for to the Eastward beyond it appeare none at all, and to the Westward of mount Hobbeigh very few. Where the mountaines faile, there Brasill wood is no farther to bee sought for: but in all parts cotton, pepper, silke and Balsamum trees doe grow in abundance. The rootes of the herbe Wiapassa are here most plentifull: I finde them in taste nothing different from good ginger, and in operation very medicinable against the flixe and headach. These rivers, as also others neerer Raleana, doe all fall out of the plaines of this empire over rocks, as the river

Port Howard otherwise called Gowateri. [III. 675.]

Caroli doeth into Raleana: and in most places within the utmost hedge of woods, the land within is plaine, voyd of trees, and beareth short grasse like Arromaiaries countrey.

Next adjoyning unto these, are the rivers Cunanamma, Uracco, Mawara, Mawarparo, Amonna, Marawini, Oncowi, Wiawiami, Aramatappo, Camaiwini, Shurinama, Shurama, Cupanamma, Inana, Guritini, Winitwara, Berbice, Wapari, Maicaiwini, Mahawaica, Wappari, Lemdrare, Dessekebe, Caopui, Pawrooma, Moruga, Waini, Barima, Amacur, Aratoori, Raleana. From Cape Cecyl to Raleana, the coast trendeth two hundred leagues next hand West-northwest. In this varietie of goodly rivers, Amonna among the rest powreth himselfe into the sea in a large and deepe chanell: his swiftnesse suffereth no barre, nor refuseth any shipping of what burthen soever they be: within his mouth for good and hopefull respectes is port Burley placed. The inhabitants that dwell Eastward, doe never passe lower then Berbice to trade. Above Curitini in the woods they gather great quantities of hony. Farther to the Eastward then Dessekebe, no Spaniard ever travelled. In which respect, and that no sea-card that I have seene at any time, doth in any sort neere a trueth, describe this coast: I thought the libertie of imposing English names to certaine places of note, of right to belong unto our labours; the rather because occasion thereby offereth it selfe gratefully to acknowledge the honour due unto them that have beene, and I hope will still continue favourers of this enterprize. The Indians to shew the worthinesse of Dessekebe (for it is very large and full of Islands in the mouth) doe call it the brother of Orenoque. It lyeth Southerly into the land, and from the mouth of it unto the head, they passe in twentie dayes: then taking their provision they carrie it on their shoulders one dayes journey; afterwards they returne for their Canoas, and beare them likewise to the side of a lake, which the Iaos call Roponowini, the Charibes, Parime: which is of such

From Cape Cecyl to Raleana 200. leagues.

Dessekebe called The brother of Orenoque.

bignesse, that they know no difference betweene it & the maine sea. There be infinite numbers of Canoas in this lake, and (as I suppose) it is no other then that, whereon Manoa standeth: In this river, which we now call Devoritia, the Spaniards doe intend to build them a towne. In Moruga it was, that they hunted Wareo and his people, about halfe a yere since. Arromaiarie, who wan so great credit by overthrowing the Tivitivas of Amana, and making free the passage of that river (but now againe liveth in disgrace, by reason that the Charibes of Guanipa have killed most of his followers, and burnt his townes) was present with them, and tooke away many of the women of that place. Arracurri, another Indian of the nation of the Arwaccas inhabiting in Barima, was likewise present, and conducted the Spaniards to all the Indian dwellings. They were not of Anthonie de Berreo his companie, that followed this chase, but were the Spaniards of Margarita, and the Caraccas, with whom * Santiago forsaking his governour Berreo joyned himselfe. For which fact he now lyeth in fetters at Trinidad, every day expecting sentence of death. The occasion hereof grew as followeth.

The great lake whereon Manoa or El Dorado standeth.

In September.

This Spaniard understandeth the Guianian language, and is reputed a very sufficient man.

When Berreo, having lost his men, was left with Fasshardo at Cumana all alone, as forlorne, and never likely to compasse his intended conquest of Guiana: the governors of the Caraccas and Margarita consulting together, sent with all speede into Spaine, to advertise their king, that Berreo was utterly unable to folow this enterprise, that he had given it over, and did now sojorne in his old dayes at Fasshardo his house, minding nothing else but his solace, and recreation. They farther declared, of how great importance this matter was: and that an English gentleman of such reckoning, as they named your lordship to be, having bene in Guiana, and understanding so much of the state thereof, and the nations thereunto adjoyning, as Topiawarie, being both olde and wise, could informe you of, who also in confirmation of friendship, had given you his onely sonne, to whome

the inheritance of the countrey did belong after him: there was no other likelihood, but that you, who adventured so farre, and in such sort as you did, onely to see, and knowe a certainty, would leave nothing unattempted to possesse so rich a countrey, and without all doubt would returne presently. That meane time, you had left this aged Sire alive, to bee a blocke in their way, to whom after his decease, this enterprise by patent did belong, and to bee a weake adversarie against your [III. 676.] selfe, whom at all times you knew easily how to distresse: and that therefore it might be behoovefull for his majestie to revoke Berreo his grant, and to use their service, who were readie and willing without any delay to undertake the charge. These newes being at large amplified and delivered to the king: Domingo de Vera, Berreo his Campmaster, who was sent into Spaine, five moneths before your arrivall at Trinidad, with a sufficient quantitie of gold gotten out of Guiana, to levie and furnish 500. men, having gotten knowledge of this practise, so solicited this cause in Berreo his behalfe, that present order was given for the victualling and manning of tenne ships to be sent to Berreo: and farther, this gold bore such waight, that the king commanded other 18. of his ships to stop at Trinidad, and not to follow their other directions, before they saw that place secured from enemies.

Berreo supposing that these governours in sending with such speede into Spaine, meant him no good; to approove his care and constancie, and that he never would yeelde under the burthen of his adverse fortune; giving no time or breath to his adversaries nor himselfe: returned foorthwith to Carapana his port, onely with fifteene men, being the scattered remnant of those whom you lately dispossessed of Trinidad. These governours followed him, and assuring themselves of present imployment from their king, preoccupating the time of their directions to bee returned from Spaine, entered Guiana with their men, with full determination to murther Berreo, and to dispatch all his company. They indeed

killed two or three, but Berreo fledde towards Caroli, where hee stayed hoping for succour from his sonne Antonie de Ximenes, to come downe the river from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. The Margaritanes with their accomplices busied themselves, some in searching the countrey, others in purveying of victuals out of the rivers that doe lie Eastward, of which number these were, that entred into Moruga with twentie Canoas. Santiago passed up into Topiawaries countrey, and there tooke Francis Sparrowe sir George Gifford his man prisoner, who with plentie of gold ransomed his life, and is now abiding in Cumana. This done, they all returned to Trinidad, and beganne to builde their towne there, when unhappily to their small comfort the eight and twentie sayles arrived, and tooke Santiago prisoner. The other Actors in this Enterlude vanished, and in Canoas recovered Margarita and Cumana againe. Eighteene of the said ships leaving all things in good order, departed from Trinidad to follow their others directions: ten doe yet remaine fortifying at Conquerabia, and expecting our comming.

Francis Sparrow taken prisoner.

This particular relation I had from an Indian, servant to Berreo, that could speake Spanish, whom I tooke in the river. He is of the nation of the Iaos, and from a child bred up with Berreo. I gave him trade to buy him a Canoa to returne into his countrey, and so left him glad, that hee had met with us.

Now the Indians of Moruga being chased from their dwellings, doe seeke by all meanes possible to accord all the nations in one, so to invade the Arwaccas who were guides to the Spaniards, in shewing their townes, and betraying them. For they are fully perswaded, that by driving these Arwaccas, who serve the Spaniards (for a great part of this nation doth also hate, or not know them) out of their territories, and Trinidad, the Spaniards for want of bread, will bee inforced to seeke habitation farther off, or at the least in time consume and be wasted.

A.D. 1596.

The 6. day of Aprill we came to an anker within the mouth of the river Raleana, having spent twentie and three dayes in discoverie upon this coast. The chanell of this river hath sixe or seven fathome depth, nine or ten miles off at sea, the barre lyeth farther out, and at low water hath not full two fathome. It highes not above five foote, except at a spring tyde. Wee ankered in ten fathome the first night: the next morning twelve Canoas came unto us, furnished and provided of victuals after their maner for the warres. Their Captaines names were Anwara, and Aparwa. These Cassiques, when the Spaniards made the last inrode in those parts, were in the inland amongst the Iwarawakeri their neighbours, by which occasion having lost some of their wives (for notwithstanding their profession of Christianitie, some of these Spaniards keepe ten or twelve women, thinking themselves wel and surely blessed, howsoever they live, if their towne and houses be religiously crossed) they kept together 30. Canoas, hoping at our comming, which they had now long expected to recover this losse upon them and the Arwaccas, who in their absence had done this wrong. They shewed me this their purpose, & required to be joyned in league of frindship with us against our enemies. When of them I had learned so much of the present estate of the countrey, as they did know: they demanded whether we had brought no more forces with us, but onely one ship? I answered them as before I did the others, that wee now came only to trade, not knowing until this present that any Spaniards were in Guiana; that upon our returne our whole fleete will hasten to set forwardes, and that in the meane time, wee would now visite [III. 677.] our friendes, and helpe them so farre as wee could in any thing that wee should finde needefull presently to bee done. After long discourse (for their chiefe man stayed with mee all night) when hee had caused mee to spit in my right hand, with many other ceremonies which they use in confirming friendshippe, hee went to the shoare, and one of his Canoas hee sent to bring forwardes the

They anker within Raleana, or Orenoque.

Spanish Paganisme.

other twentie: one other hee caused to goe up the river before us, to bring intelligence. Then calling together the chiefe of his companie, they made small fyers, and sitting in their Hamacas, or Indian beddes, each one sorted himselfe with his companion, recounting amongst themselves the worthiest deedes, and deaths of their Ancestours, execrating their enemies most despitefully, and magnifying their friendes with all titles of prayses and honour, that may bee devised. Thus they sitte talking, and taking Tabacco some two houres, and untill their pipes bee all spent (for by them they measure the time of this their solemne conference) no man must interrupt, or disturbe them in any sort: for this is their religion, and prayers, which they now celebrated, keeping a precise fast one whole day, in honour of the great Princes of the North, their Patronesse and defender. Their Canoas being made ready, they accompanyed us, and in their way shewed us, where the shoaldes of the river doe lye. By this Captaine I learned that Muchikeri is the name of the Countrey where Macureguerai the first towne of the Empire of Guiana, that lyeth towardes Raleana, is seated in a fayre and exceeding large plaine, belowe the high mountaines, that beare Northwesterly from it, that it is but three dayes journey distant from Carapana his Porte, and that Manoa is but sixe dayes farther. That they themselves doe passe in three dayes into the Countrey of the Iwarewakeri by the River Amacur, which though it bee not the directest, yet it is the readiest way to Macureguarai, for that which leadeth to Carapana his dwelling, is in some places difficult, and mountainous. That a nation of clothed people, called Cassanari, doe dwell not farre from the place, where the River doeth first take the name of Orenoque, and that farre within, they border upon a Sea of salt water, named Parime. That a great River, called Macurwini, passeth through their Countrey into Orenoque. That Manoa standeth twentie dayes journey from the mouth Wiapoco: sixeteene dayes from Barima,

Her Majestie.

Muchikeri the name of the Province where Macurigueray the first towne of Guiana is situate.

Parime an Inland sea of salt water.

thirteene dayes from Amacur, and tenne dayes from Aratoori. That the best way unto it, is not by Macureguerai. That of all others the Charibes that dwell high up in Orenoque, knowe most the inlande, and of those nations, and they speake no other language, then such as John your Interpreter doeth well understand. Hee certified mee of the headlesse men, and that their mouthes in their breastes are exceeding wide. The name of their nation in the Charibes language is Chiparemai, and the Guianians call them Ewiapanomos. What I have heard of a sorte of people more monstrous, I omit to mention, because it is no matter of difficultie to get one of them, and the report otherwise will appeare fabulous. Lastly hee tolde mee of an inland River, named Cawrooma, adjoyning to Aratoori, and that the Quepyn mountaines, where Carapana dwelleth, are hardly accessible. That the Amapagotos have images of gold of incredible bignesse, and great store of unmanned horses of the Caracas breed: and they dwell five dayes journey up the River about Caroli. Wee with our fleete of Canoas were now not farre from Carapanas Port, when our intelligencer returned and informed us that tenne Spaniardes were lately gone with much trade to Barima, where these Indians dwelt, to buy Cassavi bread; and that within one day two other Canoas of Spaniards were appointed to come by the River Amana, to Carapana his Port.

They have eminent heads like dogs, and live all the day time in the sea, they speake the Charibes language.

Upon this occasion they tooke counsell, and in the ende desired to returne to their houses, least the Spaniardes finding them from home, and imagining that they did purposely absent themselves, shoulde take away their wives and spoyle their dwellings. They farther resolved if it were possible to cut them off: which afterwardes they did perfourme. For when they were dispersed in their houses seeking Cassavi, suddenly at one time, in all places they were assaulted, and not one of them escaped. Carapana, whose hand was in laying this plot, sent us this newes, as wee returned downe the River.

A sudden assalt of the Spaniards by the Indians.

The two other Canoas that came from Trinidad by Amana, notwithstanding that wee kept a league before the shippe with our boates, sawe the shippe before wee had sight of them, and presently with all speede went to Berreo to advertize him of our comming. Hee foorthwith dispatched two or three messengers to Trinidad. One of his Canoas mette with our spie, whome the Indians of Barima had left to goe with us: they rifled him of his victuals, gave him knives, and dismissed him.

In eight dayes sayling still before a winde, wee arrived at Topiawaries Porte, in all which time no Indian that wee knewe came abourd us. For the time of our returne promised at your Lordshippes departure from thence being expired; they in dispaire severed themselves amongst the other nations. Here the Spaniardes have seated their Rancheria of some twentie or thirtie houses. The high rockie Island, that lyeth in the middest of the River, against the mouth of Caroli, is their Forte or refuge, when they misdoubt safetie in their Towne, or having notice of any practise against them: but now leaving both Towne and Island, they joyned themselves altogether, and returning to the mouth of River Caroli, placed there a secret ambush, to defend the passage to those mines, from whence your Oare and white stones were taken the last yeere: Wee all not without griefe to see ourselves thus defeated, and our hungry hopes made voyde, were witnesses of this their remoove. As we road at an ancor within musket shot of their Towne, an Indian came unto us with lean cheekes, thinne haire, and a squint eye, to informe us that they were very strong, that Berreo his sonne was with him, that they had but two small Pinnisses at Trinidad, which they dayly looked for to come up the River, and lastly to viewe our shippe well, and our provision, but especially to learne whether Gualtero, Topiawarie his sonne were with us.

[III. 678.] *A Rancheria or village planted by the Spaniardes at a Port of Topiawary.*

This informers very countenance gave him to bee

suspected, and therefore partlie by threatning, partlie by promise of rewarde wee wonne him to confesse the trueth. Which hee did, assuring us that Berreo had not full fiftie five men with him, whereof twentie came lately from Trinidad, twentie from Nuevo Reyno, and the rest hee brought with him about sixe moneths since, when hee fledde from Carapana his Porte, and was driven with his small companie to keepe the aforesaide Island neere Caroli. And that though nowe his number is thus increased yet dareth hee not adventure at any time to leave the fast woodes, and to goe but halfe a league from his holde into the plaines. That some fewe of the Arwaccas are abiding with him. That hee dayly looketh for his sonne from Nuevo Reyno, for his Campemaster from Trinidad, and for horses from the Caraccas. That Topiawarie is dead: the Indians of that coast all fledde, and dispersed, excepting the sonne of one Curmatoi, and another woman of account, whome the Spaniardes holde prisoners, for consenting to the death of their nine men, and the holy Fryer in Morekito his time. This Curmatoi is fledde towardes Guanipa, and is a man of speciall note amongst the Indians. That Iwiakanarie Gualtero his neere kinsman, hath helde the Countrey to his use, by his fathers appointment, ever since your being in the River. That there are tenne ships, and many Spaniardes at Trinidad. That the Indians our friendes did feare, least you with your company were all slaine, and your shippes sunke at Cumanà (for so the Spaniardes noysed it amongst them,) that some of Gualtero his friendes with Putijma, were in the mountaines not farre from the hill Aio. And that Berreo had sent for sixe peeces of ordinance, which he meant to plant, where they might best command the River.

Topiawarie his sonne.

The common lyes of the Spaniardes.

When wee had stayed here two dayes, considering that where no hope was left of doing good, to abide there in harmes way doing nothing, would be bootlesse: I resolved to seeke Putijma in the mountaines: and

turning downe the River with the force of the streame some twentie miles in sixe houres: the next morning with ten shot I went ashoare, intending if the Indians should thinke themselves too weake, with our helpe to displant the Spaniardes: to set some of them on worke, for hatchets and knives to returne us golde graines, and white stones from such places, as they should be directed unto. When wee came to the place of their usuall abode; wee sawe that they lately had bene there, but could speake with none of them. It may be that feare (which is easie of beliefe) perswaded them that we were Spaniards. Gilbert my Pilot here offered to bring us either to the myne of white stones neere Winicapora, or else to a gold myne, which Putijma had shewed him, being but one dayes journey over-land, from the place where we now stayed at an ancor. I sawe farre off the mountaine adjoyning to this gold myne, and having measured their pathes neere the same place this last yeere, could not judge it to bee fifteene miles from us. I doe well remember howe comming that way with Putijma the yeere before, he pointed to this same mountaine, making signes to have me goe with him thither. I understood his signes and marked the place, but mistooke his meaning, imagining that he would have shewed mee the overfall of the River Curwara from the mountaines. My Indian shewed me in what sort without digging they gather the gold in the sand of a small river, named Macawini, that springeth and falleth from the rockes where this myne is. And farther tolde me, that hee was with Putijma, at what time Morekito was to be executed by the Spaniardes, and that then the chiefe of Morekito his friends were in consultation, to shewe this myne unto them if so they might redeeme their Captaines life, but upon better advise, supposing them in this case to bee implacable, and that this might proove a meanes to loose not onely their king, but their Countrey also: they have to this day concealed it from them, being of all others the

richest and most plentifull. The aged sort to keepe this from common knowledge, have devised a fable of a dangerous Dragon that haunteth this place and devoureth all that come neere it. But our Indian, if when we returne, we doe bring store of strong wine (which they love beyond measure) with it will undertake so to charme this Dragon, that he shall doe us no harme. [III. 679.]

I, that for this ende came from home, and in this journey had taken much more paines to lesse purpose, would very gladly from this mountaine have taken so good a proofe to witnes my being in the Countrey: but withall considering that not one Indian of our knowne friends came unto us: that Don Juan the cousin of Gualtero, who liveth here a revolt from the Spaniard, was now in election to bee chiefe commander of all the Indian forces in these partes, cannot in pollicie, for Gualtero his sake, whose inheritance hee sought to usurpe, bee a fast friend unto us: that the Spaniardes abiding in Winicapora (for there were tenne) might well before wee could doe any thing, and returne, cause some others of Berreo his men to joyne with them, in the way to intercept us: and forethinking withall, that there being no meanes but our selves, to make knowne our discoverie, if wee returned not; in our misfortune the hope of following this voyage would bee buried: but besides all this, and the respect of such spyals, as the Spaniardes kept to observe our dooings, foreknowing that if the enemie should by our lingring, stop our passage, which in one or two places of advantage, fewe of them might easilie doe: it would bee a question howe with our shippe to get out of the River, except first wee could remoove them: I thought it best (all other possibilities set apart) to seeke in time to bee free from the hazard of the aforesaid evill passages.

Whilest wee were searching at the shoare for the Indians, my Barge tooke a Canoa, with three men in

her: the one a servant to Berreo, (as before is mentioned) the other two marchants of Cassavi. They had a letter sent from the Governour to bee conveied to Trinidad, which I received. There was also a great hatchet, and twentie knives, wherewith this Indian servant should buy a Canoa, and hire Indians to cary her up the River towardes Nuevo Reyno. This Canoa forsooth with foure other were to bee sent to bring downe Berreo his sonne with all his forces, which nowe have bene, I thinke, full three yeeres in preparing. If five such boates bee sufficient to convoy him, his men and all their provision: it may seeme, hee commeth with no great strength.

The small forces of Ximenes.

This servant as hee was a man of especiall trust, and neere Berreo: so appeared hee to have some insight in his proceedings. He shewed mee that the Indians, who with these knives should be hired, were to passe up so high, as where some of the Cassanari doe dwell in small villages. That Berreo his purpose was, when they came thither to leave them there, and make them officers over the other Indians: and in their places some of the Cassanari should returne, who likewise should be made Justices and Constables over them of Guiana: that from Trinidad he meant to remove most of the olde inhabitants, that would be tractable; and interpose them amongst the Cassanarians of Guiana, and the Guianians of the Cassanari. That the Arwaccas should wholly possesse Trinidad, and the river side of Raleana. That they already were provided of threescore Negros, to worke the mynes in these places. And that by this meanes Berreo hoped to keepe these severall nations in mutual enmitie each against other, all to serve his turne, and never to become strong, or likely to joyne themselves against him. He farther shewed me, that Topiawary, soone after our departure from the river, fledde into the mountaines, carying Hugh Godwyn with him, and leaving a Substitute in his Countrey, as aforesaide: and that the next newes

This transplanting of Indians is worthy of consideration.

they heard of him was, that hee was dead, and the English boy eaten by a Tyger. That the Spaniardes beleeve neither the one nor the other. That about the ende of June, when the River shall bee impassable, the tenne shippes shall depart from Trinidad. And that Berreo ever since his comming to Guiana, hath spent his time altogether in purveying of victuals, whereof there is such scarsitie, by reason that the Indians forsaking their houses, have not this halfe yeere planted any of their grounds, so that the Spaniards are inforced to seeke their bread farre off, and content themselves to live with litle.

The Port of Toparimacko.

In sayling up the River, wee passed by Toparimacko his Port, which in one place is very shoalde, the chanell lying close aboord the shore. Wee returned therefore another way by the maine river on the South side: this branch wee found large, deepe, and without danger. When wee were come neere Carapana his Port, hee sent five or sixe severall Canoas, promising this day and the next, that hee would come and speake with us. Thus wee lingred sixe or seven dayes, but hee came not. In the ende hee sent one of his aged followers, to certifie us, that hee was sicke, olde, and weake: that the wayes neere his dwelling are not easie: and that therefore he desired us to holde him excused for not comming. This olde man dilated unto us, that Carapana in hope of our returne, hath ever since your Lordshippes being in that Countrey, kept the mountaines, where the Spaniardes can hardly any way inforce him; that they have taken from him and his people many of their wives, because they refused to furnish them weekely with a certaine proportion of bread and victuals: that Don Juan otherwise called Eparacano hath the commandement of all his subjects, excepting onely a choise guarde of men sufficient to keepe the place hee nowe dwelleth in. That it repenteth him of his ambition, ever to have sought by the Spaniardes meanes, to have enlarged his Countreys and

The porte of Carapana.

[III. 680.]

people. For true it is that from the beginning hee was a Lorde of no other then ordinarie power amongst them, untill hee had entered into friendshippe with Berreo: for then the Indians on all sides left some their habitations, and manie their commanders to become his subjectes, that they might have the priviledge to trade with the Spaniardes for hatchets and knives, which are jewels of great price amongst them: that hee nowe sawe no other choise, but that the Indians must, if they will doe well, without farther dissembling of their necessitie, either entertaine us their friendes, or else give place to the Spaniardes their enemies. For the plentie of golde that is in this countrey, beeing nowe knowen and discovered, there is no possibilitie for them to keepe it: on the one side they coulde feele no greater miserie, nor feare more extremitie, then they were sure to finde, if the Spaniardes prevayled, who perforce doe take all things from them, using them as their slaves, to runne, to rowe, to bee their guides, to cary their burthens, and that which is worst of all, to bee content, for safetie of their lives, to leave their women, if a Spaniard chance but to set his eye on any of them to fancie her: on the other-side they could hope for, nor desire no better state and usage, then her Majesties gracious government, and Princely vertues doe promise, and assure unto them. For, sayde he, the other yeere, when wee fledde into the mountaines, and measured your doings by the Spaniards in like case, we made no other account, but that your Commander being able, as hee was, would doubtlesse have persecuted us to the uttermost, as the onely maintainers and supporters of your enemies, and would at the least, if hee could not reach us, take our Townes, and make us ransome our wives and children: wee found it farre otherwise, and that none of your well governed companie durst offer any of us wrong or violence, no not by stealth, when unknowne they might have done it. We then beleeving it to bee

A.D. 1596.

true, that your grand Captaine reported of his Princesse, tooke this for a good proofe of her royall commandement and wisedome, that had framed her subjectes to such obedience, and of your happinesse, that injoyed the benefite thereof: that Carapana weighing the good and friendly course of our proceedings, doeth humbly crave of her Majestie for himselfe and his people, that with the rest of the Indians, which wholly depende on her Princely regarde towardes them, hee also may injoy her favourable protection: that hee doeth this, not as a man left unto himselfe and forsaken by the Spaniardes, but as one that knoweth their injustice, hateth their cruelties, and taketh it for his best choise, utterly to disclaime their friendshippe. It may bee pertinent (as surely it is a thing worth the noting) to consider howe this president of your moderation and good order, which to us seemeth a matter but of small and ordinarie respect, hath both alienated their heartes altogether from the Spaniard, and stirred up in them true love and admiration thereof. For as governement is the onely bond of common societie: so to men lawlesse, that each one to another are, Omnes hoc jure molesti, quo fortes: To men, I say, that live in dayly tumultes, feares, doubtes, suspitions, barbarous cruelties, never sleeping secure, but alwayes either drunke, or practising one anothers death: to such men as these bee, who wanting discipline, justice and good order to confirme them in a quiet and peaceable course of living, knowing not where to finde it: the sence and sweetenesse thereof is as the dewe of Hermon: it is as the Harmonie of a well tuned Instrument: to bee briefe, it carieth in it selfe not onely a due and worthy commendation; but is avayleable without stroke striking to gaine a kingdome. For the Indians in all partes within and neere Guiana, doe offer their service, and promise to provide victuall, and what else their countrey yeeldeth, desiring onely that some force of men may remaine with them, to deliver them from oppression

Carapana a great Lord bordering upon Guiana craveth her Majesties protection.

and tyrannie. And nowe by generall consent (though hatchets and knives bee the onely things of request and usefull unto them) they have agreed by no meanes to trade with the Spaniard for any thing.

Farther this old man shewed mee, whence most of their golde commeth, which is formed in so many fashions: whence their Spleene-stones, & others of al sorts are to be had in plentie: where golde is to bee gathered in the sandes of their rivers: from what partes the Spaniards, both by trade, & otherwise, have returned much gold. This he uttered with Carapana his consent (I doubt not) hoping thereby to induce us to returne againe. For contrarie to their lawe of secrecie, [III. 681.] which in this case they doe all generally observe, sharply punishing the breakers thereof, as enemies unto their native Countrey: I found this man no whit scrupulous, but very free and liberall of speech in all things.

And because we might knowe, that wee should not want handes or helpe, in this or any other our enterprises, if perhaps wee should finde cause to passe up to the head of this River: hee declared that the Spaniardes have no Indians to trust unto but some of the Arwaccas, which since they were not many, could bee but of small force: That the Charibes of Guanipa, the Ciawannas amongst the Tivitivas, the Shebaios, Iaos, Amaipagotos, Cassipagotos, Purpagotos, Samipagotos, Serowos, Etaiguinams, Cassamari, with the rest of the nations farre and neere, were all ready, on what side soever the Spaniards shall stirre, to fight against them: that the Pariagotos, through whose countrey they must first passe, are alone sufficient to encounter them, such is the strength of their countrey, and the valure of the men. The Indians holde opinion, that they are notable sorcerers, and invulnerable. In the mountaines where they dwell, white stones are found of such hardnesse, that by no arte or meanes they can bee pierced; they imagine that these Pariagotos become invulnerable, by

A.D. 1596.

eating these stones. The fable omitted, happily they may proove good Diamonds.

Then he shewed howe the Iwarewakeri have nourished grasse in all places, where passage is, these three yeeres, and that it is at this present so high, as some of the trees; which they meane to burne, so soone as the Spaniard shall bee within danger thereof. Lastly, hee shewed mee that Wariarimagoto the Emperours chiefe Captaine for those partes, hath gathered together many thousandes of the Epuremei, to keepe the borders of the Empire; and that hee lay now on the South side of the mountaines, some one dayes journey or little more from the Spaniard. To be short, hee certified mee, that they all were resolved not to seeke upon them (for indeede they feare their shot) but to defend their owne, and to expect our comming. In the meane time they take opportunities, when they finde any of them straggling or devided from their strength, by litle and litle to lessen their number.

Wariarimagoto one of the Emperour of Guiana his chiefe Captaines up in armes against the Spaniardes.

The place where wee were at ancor was but one dayes journey from Carapana: I therefore made motion to this Captaine to stay with two or three of his company aboord the shippe, and to cause his men to bring mee with my Interpreter to Carapana his dwelling: hee answered mee that it were not good so to doe, least perhaps some Spie might informe the Spaniardes therof, whereby danger would growe to Carapana. For they have many times used many meanes to reconcile him unto them: but hee from time to time hath dalyed with them, neither professing himselfe their enemie, nor in ought shewing them any friendshippe. Nowe (sayde hee) if the Spaniardes shall by any meanes come to knowledge, that you have conferred together, they will take this occasion to persecute him with all extremitie, as their open enemie, whom they now neglect, or at the least feare not, as being an harmelesse olde man. And for this cause only hath Carapana forborne to come unto you.

By this I perceived, that to stay longer for him (though gladly I could have bene content to spend one seven-nights more to speake with him) would bee purposelesse. Wherefore having assured so many of the Indians as at any time came unto us, of our speedie returne, promising them plentie of knives, beades, and hatchets, if they would reserve their Cassavi, and provide store of their pieces of golde for us: I desired this Captaine to bee a meanes that our friends of Trinidad might understand of our being in the River and that wee meant to relieve them so soone, as conveniently might bee. Hee promised in Carapana his behalfe, that this should not bee forgotten. One of the Captaines of the Cyawannas, who doe now dwell in the River Arawawo, neere Trinidad, undertooke also without fayle to ascertaine them thereof. I was the more carefull herein, because so many ships being heere, I doubted least they would take order that no Indian should speake with us. For so indeede it fell out.

This Captaine of the Cyawannas came likewise to joyne with us, and had provided fifteene Canoas for that purpose. Their dwelling was lately in Macureo, where the Spaniardes one night stealing on them, killed twentie of their men, and burnt their houses, because they refused to trade with them for certaine images of golde made with many heades which they had gotten out of Guiana. I sent a present of Yron to Carapana, and then set sayle.

In turning downe the river wee spent eight dayes. In many places where the chanell lyeth wee found twentie fathome depth: where it is sholdest, wee had two fathome and a halfe, and that but in one or two places. Of the worthinesse of this River, because I cannot say ynough, [III. 682.] I will speake nothing. Wee have presumed to call it by the name of Raleana, because your selfe was the first of our nation that ever entred the same, and I thinke it nothing inferiour to Amazones, which is best knowen by the name of Orellana, the first discoverer thereof. By turning onely, without helpe of oares to passe so long

away in so short a time, against the winde, may sufficiently proove, that the chanell is very large, good, and likely to second our hopes in all that wee can desire. Without the mouth of this River, our Pinnesse, the Discoverer, whome wee lost neere the coast of England, came unto us. Shee fell with this land somewhat to the Southwarde of Cape Cecyl, and had spent three weekes and odde dayes in ranging alongst the coast, when shee mette with us. William Downe the Master informed mee that they entred, and searched these foure rivers. In Wiapoco they sayled so farre, untill the rockes stopped their passage. In Caiane they went up one dayes journey. In Cunanama they found many inhabitantes. Curitini was the last River they had beene in. Whence, having no other meanes to finde Raleana, they were inforced to borrow a Pilot against his will: whom afterwardes I would have returned with reward to his contentment; but he would not.

The chanel of Raleana, or Orenoque very large & good. They meete with their Pinnesse.

Our English that to steale the first blessing of an untraded place, will perhaps secretly hasten thither, may bee beholding to mee for this caveat, if they take notice thereof. They may bee assured, that this people, as they no way sought our harme, but used our men with all kindnesse: so are they impatient of such a wrong, as to have any of their people perforce taken from them, and will doubtlesse seeke revenge. The example of the like practise upon the coast of Guinie, in the yeere 1566, and againe at Dominica, where Alderman Wats his shippe hardly escaped being taken, may serve for our warning in like case to looke for no good, before they bee satisfied for this injury.

A good caveat.

When wee had taken aboorde us such victuals as were in the Pinnesse: wee set fire in her, (for her Rudder could serve her to no longer use) and stopping the floodes, plyed to windwarde with the ebbe neere the shoare, untill wee were sixteene leagues to the Eastwarde of the Rivers mouth, and then standing off to Sea, wee fell in twentie foure houres sayling with Punta de Galera

The isle of Tabago.

the Northeastermost part of Trinidad. But having Tabaco-island in sight, wee first went thither. This Island is plentifull of all things, and a very good soyle. It is not nowe inhabited, because the Charibes of Dominica are evill neighbours unto it. They of Trinidad have a meaning and purpose to flie thither, when no longer they can keepe Trinidad. Their onely doubt is, that when they are seated there, the Spaniard will seeke to possesse it also. The Governour of Margarita went lately in a Pinnesse to viewe this Island. Gilbert my Pilot who sometime lived there, noteth it for the best and fruitfullest ground that hee knoweth.

Thence wee returned to Punta de Galera and ancored in tenne fathome under the North side of the Island some five or sixe miles from the sayde point. The flood-tyde striketh alongst the coast to the Eastward very strongly. Wee discharged a peece of ordinance, and afterwards went to the shoore in our boat: but no Indian came unto us. I would have sent John of Trinidad to procure some of them to speake with us: but he was altogether unwilling, alleaging that their dwellings were farre within the mountaines, and that hee knewe no part of that side of the Island. From this place we set sayle for Santa Lucia, but fell with Granata, which wee found not inhabited. Saint Vincent we hardly recovered, by turning under the lee of the island. The Tabaco of this place is good: but the Indians being Canibals, promising us store, and delaying us from day to day, sought onely oportunitie to betray, take, and eate us, as lately they had devoured the whole companie of a French shippe. This their treacherie being by one of their slaves revealed, from thenceforth they did all forbeare to come unto us. To sit downe on their lowe stooles, when they by offering such ease, will seeme to shewe curtesie, abodeth death to strangers, that shall trust them. At Matalino or Martinino we found not any inhabitants. Lastly, wee came to Dominica, where we could get no good Tabaco. But having intelligence

Most dangerous Canibals.

of a Spanish shippe, that was taking in of fresh water, at the Northwest side of the Island, wee wayed ancor to seeke him. Hee discrying us, stole away by night. The Indians of this place have determined to remoove, and joyne with them of Guanipa, against the Spaniardes, who lately dispeopled one of their Islands, and at our being there one of their Canoas returned from Guanipa, and certified us, that the tenne Spanish shippes at Trinidad doe ride, some of them at Conquerabia, the rest at the small Ilands neere the disemboging place. Herehence we steered North and by East, taking the directest course to shorten our way homewards.

Thus have I emptied your purse, spending my time [III. 683.] and travell in following your lordships directions for the full discoverie of this coast, and the rivers thereof. Concerning the not making of a voyage for your private profite, I pretend nothing. Sorie I am, that where I sought no excuse, by the Spaniardes being there I found my defect remedilesse. And for mine owne part, I doe protest, that if the consideration of the publique good that may ensue, had not overpoysed all other hopes and desires: I would rather have adventured by such small and weake meanes as I had, to doe well with danger, then to returne onely with safetie. Nowe although in a cause not doubtfull, my allegation is no way needefull: yet because the weightiness thereof, and the expectation of others, seemeth of due and right to claime something to bee sayde by mee, whome your especiall trust and favour hath credited and graced with this employment: Pardon it (I beseech your honour) if, where my lampe had oyle, it borrow light also; and my speach, which is altogether unsavourie, season it selfe with some of the leaven of your owne discourse touching this discoverie. The particular relation of some certaine things I have reserved as properly belonging to your selfe, who onely, as knowing most, can make best use thereof. So much in generall is here touched, as (I hope) may serve to refresh the memorie of this worthie enterprise in those

whome it may concerne, and testifie your care and expence in following the same: that in a second age, when in time trueth shall have credite, and men wondering at the riches, and strength of this place (which nature it selfe hath marvelously fortified, as her chiefe treasure-house) shall mourne and sigh to holde idle cicles, whilest others reape and gather in this harvest, it bee not sayde, that Sir Walter Ralegh was of all men living in his dayes, most industrious in seeking, most fortunate in attaining to the fulnesse of an inestimable publique good: if, knowing that for envie and private respectes, his labours were lessened, his informations mistrusted, his proffers not regarded, and the due honour of his deserts imparted to others: If (I say) seeing, knowing and bearing all this, hee with patience had persisted in so good a way in doing his Princesse, and countrey service; and had but perfected his first discoverie by sending a shippe or two for that purpose: for then surely all lets and doubts being remooved, and so large a kingdome, so exceeding rich, so plentiful of all things, as this by his discourse appeared to bee, being offered: no devises and vaine surmises could have taken place, no illusions could have prevailed: it had bene blindnesse and deafenesse in those, that being neere her Majestie doe spend their dayes in serving the common weale, not to see, and knowe in so weightie a matter: it had beene malicious obstinacie, impotencie of minde, and more then treason to the common wealth, the matter standing onely upon acceptance, to seeke either to foreslowe so fit an occasion, or forsake so generall a blessing. This (if) is nowe cut off through a singular and incomparable temper, in overcomming evile with good.

This your seconde discoverie hath not onely founde a free and open entrance into Raleana, which the Naturals call Orenoque: but moreover yeeldeth choyse of fourtie severall great rivers (the lesser I do not reckon) being for the most part with small vessels navigable for our marchants & others, that do now finde little profit in setting

forth for reprisall, to exercise trade in. To such as shall be willing to adventure in search of them, I could propose some hope of gold mines, and certaine assurance of peeces of made golde, of Spleene-stones, Kidney-stones, and others of better estimate. But because our beleefe seemeth to bee mated in these greater matters, and a certaintie of smaller profits is the readiest inducement to quicken our weake hopes; I not going so farre as mine owne eyes might warrant mee, doe onely promise in the aforesayd rivers Brasil-wood, honey, cotton, Balsamum, and drugs to helpe to defray charges: and further, because without a beginning there can bee no continuance of these benefites unto our countrey to any that shall be the first undertakers hereof, I am gladly content to give such light and knowledge, as by conference with the Indians I have attained unto.

My selfe, and the remaine of my fewe yeeres, I have bequeathed wholly to Raleana, and all my thoughts live onely in that action. The prosecuting whereof is in it selfe just, profitable, and necessarie. Just, because it is intended for the defence of harmelesse people, who fearing thralldome and oppression, desire to protect themselves and their countrey under her Majesties tuition: Profitable, as may bee gathered not onely by many Spanish letters intercepted, but also by the proofes mentioned in the discourse of the first discoverie, and since that, by the Indians owne voluntarie relations: and lastly, by the provision that the Spaniards doe make to acquite us thereof. Necessarie it is, as being the onely helpe to put a bitte in the mouth of the unbrideled Spaniard; the onely way to enter into his treasurie of Nuevo Reyno, and Peru; the onely meanes to animate the wronged Indians with our assistance to seeke revenge for the extreme murthers and cruelties, which they have endured, [III. 684.] and to ruinate his naked cities in all those parts of the Inland; whose foundations have beene layd in the blood of their parents and ancesters.

The forces that the Spaniard hath already sent to

Trinidad, to fortifie there, and keepe the passage of this river, are an evident argument that the king feareth and doubteth the sequele of this discoverie. For can it bee a small matter? Or hath hee so waste imployment for his men and shipping, that upon no ground, hee would send eight and twentie shippes, to keepe us onely from Tabacco? For what els that good is can Trinidad yeelde us? No doubtlesse, if the returne of Berreo his Campe-master with tenne of these shippes be compared with precedent advertisements concerning him: it will appeare more then probable, that the Guiana-golde waged these men and shipping: and that they are nowe more carefull to obtaine this place, then to keepe others, which they have already gotten, which note, except in matters of extraordinarie account, is not incident to their policie and proceedings. Againe, it cannot bee thought that either it was senselesse madnesse in the governours of Margarita, and the Caracas, to bring their states and lives in question, by seeking, contrarie to their kings order, to enter Guiana, and kill Berreo with his followers: or else the abundance of pearle in Margarita, and the golde mines in the Caracas, seeming matters of small account: Guiana onely was in their judgement, rich, plentifull, and able of it selfe to redeeme their trespasse and offence, howe great soever it should bee.

The sundry attemptes and overthrowes of the Spaniardes being men of power, and honourable place, in labouring threescore and three yeeres and upwardes, to inlarge the kingdome of Spaine with this mightie and great empire, doe plainely shewe, that they long time sought a path, where in one moneth a high way was found: that the losse of their lives witnesseth their desires, and the worthinesse of the thing, where to us the easinesse of obteining discrediteth the greatnes of the attempt: and that if now at the last they doe prevaile, they must holde by tyrannie that which they get by the sword; where then our returne nothing by the Indians is more wished for, nothing expected more earnestly.

Those objections, which have beene made by many seeming wise, and the impediments likely to arise, as they have supposed, are best answered by the unreprooved witnesse of those mens actions. Some have termed these discoveries fables, and fantasies, as if there had beene no such land or territorie: others allowing both of the place, and that such a kingdome or countrey is discovered, make conclusion, that if it had beene so rich as wee have supposed, that no doubt the king of Spaine would by this time have possessed it. But if they consider that the Spanish nation hath already conquered the two empires of Mexico and Peru, with so many other kingdoms and provinces: wee may very well answere, that his power is not infinite, and that hee hath done well for the time. And yet it is manifest, that this very empire hath beene by all those severall Spaniardes (the catalogue of whose names is by it selfe hereunto annexed) at sundry times undertaken, and never perfourmed. Howbeit, the world hath reason to admire their constancie, and their great labours, and wee may well blush at our owne idle, despairefull, and loytering dispositions, that can finde abilitie in another barren, and sterved nation, to possesse so much of the worlde, and can doe nothing but frame arguments against our selves, as unfit and powerlesse to possesse one province already discovered, and of which our nation hath assurance of the peoples love, and that all the Chieftaines and principals have vowed their obedience to her Majestie; the navigation being withall so short, dangerlesse, and free from infectious sickenesse. If doubt of perils might moderate the mindes of our men once mooved with steadfast hope, that golde shall bee the reward of their travels: it may easily bee perceived, that all those lets and hinderances that can any way bee alleaged, or wrested so much, as but to touch us, doe deepely and neerely concerne the Spanish king, and in a maner violently withold him from that, which hee notwithstanding carrieth with successe, whilest wee

out of season do affect the bare stile, to be named men stayed and circumspect in our proceedings. It is reported, that Calanus the Indian threw downe before Alexander the great, a drie seare peece of leather, & then put his foot on one of the endes of it: the leather being trode downe at that side, rose on all parts else. By this the wise man did shewe unto him a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which being exceeding large, must of necessitie in all other parts, excepting the place of the kings residence, be alwayes full of stirs, tumults, and insurrections. The end afterwards confirmed, that this empire consisting of sundry nations, could not keepe it selfe from dissolution. No potentate living hath, or can have so faithfull and incorrupt counsellers, as bee the examples and histories of forepassed times and ages. Wee may therefore bee bolde to thinke [III. 685.] that the Governours of the Spanish affaires should minde it, that their kings lustfull desire, and ambitious thoughts to establish over all Europe one lawe, one Lord, one religion, are built and erected on a dangerous ungrounded resolution: Considering that many of the neighbour kingdomes being of equall force in men, or greater than hee can make, are setled in a long continued estate, are entire within themselves, and hate to heare the voyce of a stranger. It is not unlikely that they in this case should lay before their king the fatall destinies of many worthies, that have beene constrained for wante of sufficient numbers of their naturall subjects, after many yeeres spent in the warres, to retire to their owne countreys, and have beene glad peaceably to holde their owne Signiories at home, resigning all that unto others, which they have gotten abroad by hard adventure, and much effusion of blood. The King of Spaine cannot but discerne, that his spacious empires and kingdomes being so many, and so farre divided one from another, are like the members of a monstrous bodie, tyed together with cables onely. For take away the traffique of unneces-

sarie commodities transported out of Spaine: those huge countreys of the Indies having no common linke of affinitie, lawe, language, or religion, and being of themselves able to maintaine themselves without forreine commerce, are not so simple, as not to knowe their owne strength, and to finde, that they doe rather possesse Spaniardes, then that they are possessed by them. Hee cannot bee ignorant that Spaine it selfe is on all sides environed with many puissant enemies, mightie and great princes, who knowing it to bee rich without men, confident without reason, proud and adventurous without meanes sufficient; may happily confederate to chastise him, as an insolent intruder, and disturber of all quietnesse; and going no further then Spaine it selfe, may even there shake the foundation of his long contrived devises, and in one acte redeeme the time, controll his aspiring humor, and breake the bandes in sunder that import servitude, and subversion to all the dominions of Christendome. Againe, his counsell may well informe him, that to dispeople and disable himselfe at home, in hope to obtaine Guiana, being a countrey strong of it selfe, and defended with infinite multitudes of Indian enemies, being rich, and by the inhabitants offered unto the English: his contempt towardes us would seeme so intollerable and despightfull, as might bee sufficient to provoke us, though otherwise wee had no such inclination; if hee unprovided of able helpes to effect it, should rest himselfe on a carelesse presumption, that wee cannot, wee dare not, wee will not stirre in a matter that promiseth us so great benefite, and may so highly offend him. Hee may bee perswaded, that to leave no other succour or safetie to his nakednesse, but the olde stale practise of spreading rumours, and giving out false intelligences of preparations to invade England, thereby to keepe us at home; or els of hyring and suborning some Machavellian under hande by secret conveyance, to stop the course of our proceedings; or lastly, of

procuring some wilde outlaw to disquiet our tranquillitie; is but a poore, weake, and uncertaine stay to upholde his estate by. And yet setting such like driftes aside: what can bee imagined likely to hinder us from prevailing in Guiana, rather then him, whose disadvantage is to bee encombred with the selfe same, and manifolde more impediments, then can any way bee supposed, with good cause to impeach, or divorce us from so profitable an attempt? All this notwithstanding, if the Spanish king not being able to dissemble his desire, or beare the losse of this one kingdome; putting himselfe out of his strength at home, and exposing his people to the hazard of all casualties abroad, bee resolved, whatsoever shall happen, not to relinquish Guiana, but to keepe this one yron more in the fire, on no other assurance, but a peremptorie disdaine of prevention: If hee appeare so eagerly bent for Guiana, as if it were enacted for a lawe amongst themselves, Viis & modis to thrust for it, and not to heare, conceive, or beleeve any thing, that may disswade or deterre from the conquest thereof: it then appertaineth unto us, not to inforce those objections against our selves, which hee with lesse reason rejecteth as frivolous; since by howe much the more earnest hee is in following this purpose, by so much the lesse cause have wee to bee diverted from it. To such as shall bee willing further to wade in this argument; for brevities sake, I doe propose onely this bare assertion: that England and Guiana conjoyned, are stronger, and more easily defended, then if England alone should repose her selfe on her owne force, and powerfulnesse. The reasons that might bee inferred to prove this neede no rationall discourse: they are all intimated in the onely example of Spaine it selfe; which without the Indies is but a purse without money, or a painted sheath without a dagger. In summe: it seemeth unto me, that whereas the difficultie of performing this enterprise hath bene produced for a discouragement: it were

a dull conceite of strange weakenes in our selves, to distrust our own power so much, or at least, our owne hearts and courages; as valewing the Spanish nation to be omnipotent; or yeelding that the poore Portugal hath that mastering spirit and conquering industrie, above us; as to bee able to seate himselfe amongst the [III. 686.] many mightie princes of the East Indies, to frontire China, to holde in subjection the Philippinas, Zeilan, Calecut, Goa, Ormus, Mozambique, and the rest; the navigation being so tedious and full of perill: to suffer our selves to bee put backe for worthlesse cyphers, out of place, without account. All which Regions being nowe also by the late conquest of Portugall, entituled to the Spanish king: to whom the Colonies of those parts doe yet generally refuse to sweare fealtie and allegiance: and the care depending on him, not onely in governing them in the East, so farre off; but also of ordering and strengthening of those disunited, scattered, & ill guarded empires and provinces in the West: It might very well bee alleaged to the sayde Spanish king, that it were more wisedome for him to assure and fortifie some part of those already gotten, then to begin the conquest of Guiana, so farre separate from the rest of his Indies: in which hee hath had so many misfortunes, and against whom the naturall people are so impetuously bent, and opposed: were it not, that it exceedeth all the rest in abundance of gold, and other riches. The case then so standing, is it not meere wretchednesse in us, to spend our time, breake our sleepe, and waste our braines, in contriving a cavilling false title to defraude a neighbour of halfe an acre of lande: whereas here whole shires of fruitfull rich grounds, lying now waste for want of people, do prostitute themselves unto us, like a faire and beautifull woman, in the pride and floure of desired yeeres:

If wee doe but consider, howe unhappily Berreo his affaires, with his assistants have of late yeeres, in our owne knowledge succeeded: who can say, if the hand

of the Almighty be not against them, and that hee hath a worke in this place, in stead of Papistrie, to make the sincere light of his Gospell to shine on this people? The effecting whereof shall bee a royall crowne of everlasting remembrance to all other blessings, that from the beginning the Lorde hath plentifully powred on our dread Soveraigne, in an eminent and supreme degree of all perfection. If the Castilians, pretending a religious care of planting Christianitie in those partes, have in their doings preached nought els but avarice, rapine, blood, death, and destruction to those naked, & sheep-like creatures of God; erecting statues and trophees of victorie unto themselves, in the slaughters of millions of innocents: doeth not the crie of the poore succourlesse ascend unto the heavens? Hath God forgotten to bee gracious to the workemanship of his owne hands? Or shall not his judgements in a day of visi-
Her Majestie. tation by the ministerie of his chosen servant, come on these bloodthirstie butchers, like raine into a fleece of wooll? Aliquando manifesta; aliquando occulta; semper justa sunt Dei judicia.

To leave this digression, It is fit onely for a prince to begin, and ende this worke: the maintenance and ordering thereof requireth soveraigne power, authoritie, and commaundement. The river of Raleana giveth open and free passage, any provision that the Spaniard can make to the contrary notwithstanding, (for once yeerely the landes neere the river be all drowned) to convey men, horse, munition, and victuall for any power of men that shall be sent thither.

I doe speake it on my soules health, as the best testimonie, that I can in any cause yeelde to averre a trueth, that having nowe the second time beene in this countrey, and with the helpes of time and leisure well advised my selfe upon all circumstances to bee thought on; I can discerne no sufficient impediment to the contrary, but that with a competent number of men, her Majestie may to her and her successours enjoy

this rich and great empire: and having once planted there, may for ever (by the favour of God) holde and keepe it, Contra Iudæos & Gentes. Subjects, I doubt not, may through her Majesties gracious sufferance, joyning their strength together, invade, spoyle, and overrunne it, returning with golde and great riches. But what good of perpetuitie can followe thereof? Or who can hope that they will take any other course then such, as tendeth to a private and present benefite; considering that an Empire once obtained, is of congruitie, howe, and wheresoever the charge shall growe, to bee annexed unto the crowne? The riches of this place are not fit for any private estate: no question, they will rather proove sufficient to crosse and countervaile the Spaniard his proceedings in all partes of Christendome, where his money maketh way to his ambition.

If the necessitie of following this enterprise doth nothing urge us, because in some case better a mischiefe, then an inconvenience: let the conveniencie thereof somewat moove us, in respect both of so many Gentlemen, souldiers, and younger brothers, who, if for want of employment they doe not die like cloyed cattell in ranke easefulnesse; are enforced for maintenance sake, sometimes to take shamefull and unlawfull courses: and in respect of so many handycraftsmen having able bodies, that doe live in cleannesse of teeth and povertie. To sacrifice the children of Belial unto the common weale, is not to defile the lande with blood, because the lawe of God doeth not prohibite it, and [III. 687.] the execution of justice requireth it to bee so: but yet if the waterboughes, that sucke and feede on the juice, and nourishment that the fruitefull branches should live by, are to bee cut downe from the tree, and not regarded: luckie and prosperous bee that right hande, that shall plant and possesse a soyle, where they may fructifie, increase, and growe to good: thrise honourable and blessed bee the memorie of so charitable a deede, from one generation to another.

To conclude, your lordship hath payd for the discoverie and search, both in your owne person, and since by mee. You have framed it, and moulded it readie for her Majestie, to set on her seale. If either envie or ignorance, or other devise frustrate the rest, the good which shall growe to our enemies, and the losse which will come to her Majestie and this kingdome, will after a fewe yeeres shewe it selfe. Wee have more people, more shippes, and better meanes, and yet doe nothing. The Spanish king hath had so sweete a taste of the riches thereof, as notwithstanding that hee is lorde of so many empires and kingdomes already, notwithstanding his enterprises of France and Flanders, notwithstanding that hee attended this yeere a home invasion: yet hee sent twentie eight saile to Trinidad,

A Table of the names of the Rivers, Nations, second voyage

		Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.
	1	Arowari great.	Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes.	
	2	Iwaripoco very great.	Mapurwanas, Iaos.	
	3	Maipari great.	Arricari.	
	4	Caipurogh great.	Arricurri.	
	5	Arcooa great.	Marowanas, Charibes.	
	6	Waipoco great.	Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco.	
	7	Wanari.	Charibes.	
	8	Capurwacka great.	Charibes.	
[III. 688.]	9	Cawo great.	Iaos.	Icomana.
	10	Wia great.	Maworia, Charib, Wiaco, Ch.	Parammona, great.

whereof tenne were for that place and Guiana, and had some other shippes ready at Cadiz, if the same had not beene by my Lordes her Majesties Generals and your lordship set on fire.

In one worde; The time serveth, the like occasion seldome happeneth in many ages, the former repeated considerations doe all joyntly together importune us, nowe, or never to make our selves rich, our posteritie happie, our Prince every way stronger then our enemies, and to establish our Countrey in a state flourishing and peaceable. O let not then such an indignitie rest on us, as to deprave so notable an enterprise with false rumors, and vaine suppositions, to sleepe in so serious a matter, and renouncing the honour, strength, wealth, and soveraigntie of so famous a conquest, to leave all unto the Spaniard.

Townes, and Casiques or Captaines that in this were discovered.

Captains.	
	1 These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and greene stones. They speake the Tivitivas language; so likewise doe the nation of the Arricari, who have greater store of those moneyes then any others.
	2 Here it was as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinzon the Spaniard had his Emeralds. In one of these two rivers certain Frenchmen that suffred shipwrack some 2. or 3. yeres since, doe live.
	3. 4. 5. These with the other two seeme to bee branches of the great river of Amazones. When wee first fell with land, wee were, by ye Indians report, but 1. dayes journey from the greatest river, that is on that coast.
Wareo. Mashwipo.	6 The first mountaines that appeare within lande, doe lie on the East side of this river. From

	Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.
11	Caiane g.	Wiaco. Ch.	Canawi. g.
	Gowateri a great iland.	Shebaios.	Orinikero.
12	Macuria.	Piraos. Ch.	
13	Cawroora.	Arawaccos	
		Charib.	
14	Manmanuri.	Ipaios. Ch.	
15	Cureey.	Shebaios.	
16	Curassiwini.	Shebaios.	Musswara. great.
17	Cunanama.	Iaos.	Waritappi. great
		Arwaccas.	
18	Uracco.	Arwaccas.	
	Moruga.	Arwaccas.	
19	Mawari.	Winicinas.	Iwanama.
		Arwaccas.	
20	Mawarpari.	Arwaccas.	Awaricana.
21	Amonna very great.	Charibes.	Iaremappo. very great.
	Capellepo. g.		
22	Marawini. g.	Paracuttos.	
23	Owcowi.		
24	Wiawiami.		
25	Aramatappo.		
26	Wiapo.		
27	Macuruma.		
28	Carapi.		
29	Uraca.		
30	Chaimawimini great.	Carepini.	
		Charib.	
31	Ecrowto.	Upotommas.	
32	Pawro.		Maripomma.
33	Shurinama g.	Arwaccas.	
		Carepini.	
		Chari.	
34	Shurama g.	Carepini.	Cupari.
35	Northumbria or Cupanama very g.	Char.	
		Arwaccas.	
36	Wioma.		
[III. 689.] 37	Cushwini.	Neekeari.	Tawrooromene.
38	Inana. g.		Owaripoore.
39	Curitini. g.	Carepini.	Mawronama.
		Arwaccas.	
		Parawianni.	
40	Winitwari g.		Maiapoore.
			Cariwacka.

Captains.	
Parawatteo.	the mouth thereof, the inhabitants doe passe with their canoas in 20. dayes to the salte lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath many Cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one from another : where it falles into the sea, hils do inclose it on both sides.
Ocapanio. Carinamari. Curipotoore. Marwabo. Eramacoa. Aranacoa. Mahahonero.	10 The freshet shoots out into the sea, with great force : the sea doth here sometimes campe high, and breake, as if it were full of rocks : but in proofe it is nothing els but the pride & force of the tydes. In this bay, & round about, so far as the mountaines do extend there is great store of Brasill wood, some of it bearing farre darker colour then other some. Here are also many sortes of other good woods.
Caponaiarie.	14 These speake the language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind, and eat them alive peecemeale. This torment is not comparable to the deadly paine that commeth of hurts, or woundes, made by those arrowes that are invenomed with the juice of ye herbe Wapototo. These Indians because they eate them whome they kill, use no poyson. The sea coast is nowhere populous, for they have much wasted themselves, in mutuall warres. But now in all parts so farre as Orenoque, they live in league and peace.
Neperwari.	21. Neere the head of this river, Capeleppo falleth out of the plaines, and runneth into the Sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians live in this river.
	39. This river, as also most of the rest, is not navigable above sixe dayes journey by reason of rockes. It is tenne dayes journey to the head, where the Guianians do dwel : hony, yarne or cotton, silke, Balsamum, and Brasil-

	Rivers.	Nations.	Townes.
41	Berbice. g.	Arwaccas.	Aneta. Manacobeece. Eppera. Parawiannos. Lupulee.
42	Wapari.	Shebaios. Arwaccas.	Madewini.
43	Maicawini.	Panapi. Arwaccas.	Itewee.
44	Mahawaica.	Arwaccas.	Maburesa. g.
45	Lemerare. g.	Wacawaios.	Maburesa. g.
46	* Devoritia or Dessekebe very g.	Arwaccas. Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas.	
	Matorooni.	Charibes.	
	Coowini.	Maripai.	
	Chipanama.	Wocowaios.	
	Arawanna.	Parawianni.	
	Itorebece.	Iwarewakeri.	Caiaremappo.
47	Pawrooma. g.	Iaos.	Waroopana.
	Aripacoro.	Panipi.	Maripa.
	Ecawini.		Chipariparo.
	Manurawini.		Towtwi. Sarinbugh. Wariwagh.
48	Moruga. g.	Iaos.	Cooparoore. g.
	Piara.	Arwaccas.	
	Chaimeragoro.		Awiapari. Topoo.
49	Waini. g.	Charibes.	Tocoopoima. g.
50	Barima. g.	Charibes.	Pekwa. g.
	Caitooma.	Arwaccas.	Arwakima.
	Arooca.		
51	Amacur. g.		
52	Aratoori. g.		
	Cawrooma. g.		
	Raleana, or Orenoque.		
	Maipar	Ilands in the mouth of Raleana.	
	Ita caponea		
	Owarecapater.		
	Warucanasso.		

* *So called after the name of the right honourable the Earle of Essex.*

Captains.

Warawaroco.

Benmurwagh.

Caporaco. great Cap.

beds are here to bee had in plentie, and so all the coast alongst Eastward. Some images of golde, spleenestones, and others may bee gotten on this coast, but they doe somewhat extraordinarily esteeme of them, because every where they are current money. They get their Moones, & other pieces of gold by exchange, taking for each one of their greater Canoas, one piece or image of golde, with three heades, and after that rate for their lesser Canoas, they receive pieces of golde of lesse value. One hatchet is the ordinarie price for a Canoa. They have every where divers sorts of drugs, gummes, and rootes, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.

Macapowa.

Shuracoima.

Names of poysoned hearbes.

Ourari. } { Apareepo.
Carassi. } { Parapara.

Manarecowa.

Iarwarema.

Hearbes good against poyson.

Turara. } { Wapo.
Cutarapama. } { Macatto.

Parana.
Anawra.
Aparwa.
Arracurri.

The 29. day of June we arrived in Portland roade, having spent five moneths in going, staying, and returning.

[Here follow

[III. 690.] Here follow the names of those worthie Spaniards that have sought to discover and conquer Guiana: Extracted out of the writings of Juan de Castellanos clerigo, who compiled the booke intituled, Primera parte de las Elegias de varones illustres de Indias.

THe enterprise of Guiana was undertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdome of Leon, in the yeere 1531. Hee was one of the captaines of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the river of Amana, by which wee entred, and spent fiftie dayes before hee came to the river of Orenoque, which we past in fifteene. Hee named the river by which hee entred, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lyeth South from Trinidad some five leagues. He transported out of Spaine a thousand souldiers. He dyed afterwards at sea in returning for Spaine.

The river of Amana by which Sir Walter Ralegh first entred, called by Diego de Ordas Viapari: and by Barth. de Casas Ivia-Pari.

2 Juan Corteso arrived at the river of Amazones or Orellana with three hundred men: Hee marched up into the countrey. But neither hee nor any of his companie did returne againe.

3 Gaspar de Sylva, with his two brothers, departed from Teneriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the river of Amazones: but staying there a short time, they fell downe to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4 Juan Gonsales set saile from Trinidad to discover Guiana. He reposed himselfe more on the faith of his guides, then on his small number of men. Hee by triall founde the confines of Guiana, so farre as hee entred, to bee populous, plentifull of victuall, and rich in golde. Upon such proofes as hee brought with him, to make good his report, many others adventured to follow his steps.

5. 6 Philip de Uren, & after him Pedro de Limpias, who both successively commanded the Almaines, were leaders in this action. Limpias was slaine by an Indian Casique named Porima.

7 Jeronimo de Ortal undertooke it by the way of Maracapana. After great travell and his substance all spent, he dyed on the sudden at S. Domingo.

8. 9 Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

10 Father Iala, a Frier, taking with him onely one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the provinces of Guiana. Hee returned with good intelligence, and brought with him Eagles, idols, and other jewels of golde, An. 1560. Hee assayed the second time to passe in like maner, but was slaine by the Indians.

11 Hernandez de Serpa also undertooke it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his armie.

12 Afterwardes, Diego de Vargas, and his sonne Don Juan followed this enterprise, and at their first setting out, were slaine by the Indians.

13 Caceres undertooke this discovery from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. Hee came no neerer to it then Matachines, which borders upon the sayd kingdome of Granada. Hee rested there and peopled that place.

14 It was also attempted by Alonzo de Herera, at two severall times. Hee endured great miserie, but never entred one league into the countrey. Hee sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slaine by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15 It was also undertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herrera and Augustine Delgado joyned in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the yeere 1536 to discover El Dorado, with 500 chosen men. In this journey hee got much gold, and tooke many Indian prisoners, whom hee manacled in yrons; and many of

them dyed as they were led in the way. The Tigers being fleshed on those dead carkeisses, assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselves from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire neere the head of the river Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

16 Augustine Delgado searched the countrey to the Southward of Cumanawgoto with 53. footemen, and three horsemen. The warres that were then betweene the Indians of the vale, and those of the mountaines, served well for his purpose. By which occasion he found meanes to passe so farre, untill he came to an Indian Casique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindnesse, and gave him for a present some rich jewels of golde, sixe seemely pages, tenne young slaves, and three nymphes very beautifull, which bare the names of three provinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chiefe commander of all that countrey. Their names [III. 691.] were Guanba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These provinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthfull, and have an admirable influence in producing faire women. The Spaniards afterwardes to requite the manifold curtesies that they received in that countrey, tooke and carried away, besides all the golde that they could get, all the Indians that they could lay holde on: they conveyed them in yrons to Cubagua, and sould them for slaves. Delgado afterwards was shot in the eye by an Indian: of which hurt he died.

17 Diego de Losada succeeded in his brothers place. Hee had many more men; who in the ende wasted themselves in mutinies: those that lived returned to Cubagua.

18 Reynoso undertooke this journey: but having endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his minde, he gave it over, and was buried in Hispaniola.

19 Pedro de Orsua, in the yeere 1560. sought it with 400. Spaniards by the river of Orellana. Hee imbarqued his men in the countrey of the Motijones. As they passed downe the river, they found Synamom trees.

His men murthered him, and afterward the sayde rebels beheaded lady Anes his wife, who forsooke not her lord in all his travels unto death.

20 Frier Francis Montesino was in the province of Maracapana with 100. souldiers bound for Guiana, when Lopez Aguirri the tyrant made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended journey is not expressed.

In this discoverie of Guiana you may reade both of Orellana, who discovered the river of Amazones An. 1542. and of Berreo, with others that have trode this maze, and lost themselves in seeking to finde this countrey.

An advertisement to the Reader.

IN this Breviarie, the names onely are comprised of such, as being led with the generall fame of Guiana, have indevoured to discover and possesse it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenly be translated or englished at large, as we in these Elegies finde them. It may perhaps seeme strange and incredible, that so many cavalleros should all faile in this one attempt, since in many parts of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time have performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdomes: I have therefore thought it good here to alleage those reasons, which by circumstance may bee gathered to have beene chiefe impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

The first may bee the remotenesse or distance of their places of Rendevous, from El Dorado: which appeare to be foure, Nuevo reyno, the mouth of Amazones or Orellana, Cubagua or the coast of the Caracas, and Trinidad.

1 From Moiobamba, where Orellana hath his head-spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it 2000. leagues. Raleana riseth neere the said mountaines in Moiobamba, & tributeth his waters to the sea, not farre from the other: Guiana is environed with these 2 fresh-

water-seas, where their distance is greatest from their risings, and is besides guarded with impassable mountaines which inclose and defend it on all parts, excepting Topiawaries countrey. It is no marvel then, if the vigor, heart, & life of those Spaniards, who sought it from Nuevo Reyno, were allayed & spent, before they came neere to it, in those long, desolate & uncomfortable wayes.

2 From Cubagua to seeke it by sea in vessels of any burthen, is a worke of far greater labour, then to saile directly from Spaine. And to passe over land is a matter of great difficultie, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting betweene the coast of The Caracas and Guiana, being wearied and harried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, have now turned their abused patience into furie, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countreys. For the Spaniards travelling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, overlaid them with cruelties, tyrannie, and thraldome: forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which maner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit; yet hath it otherwise done them much harme, in hardening and driving those nations to desperate resolutions.

3 From the mouth of Orellana to seeke entrance with any number of men, & to bore a hole through the mountaines is all one. Neither finde wee, that any seeking it that way, have at any time boasted of their gaines or pleasurable journeys.

4 From Trinidad, as the course is shortest, so doeth it promise best likelyhood of successe. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessell of ordinarie burthen by that way to recover the river of Raleana.

The second, The Spaniards have bene so farre from helping and furthering one another, or admitting partners or coadjutors in the Guiana-cause, that amongst so many [III. 692.] attemptes, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likeliest to prevaile,

free from discords, mutinies, and cruell murthers amongst themselves.

Thirdly. The Spaniardes in this place have mist that advantage, which elsewhere hath steeded themselves in all their conquestes: namely, the dissentions and mutuall warres of the Indians. Which of that force it is, may be gathered by the example Arauco in Chili. For the Indians of that one province conteining in circuit not above 20. leagues, have maintained warres above these 30. yeeres against all the Spaniards, and in despight of them have kept their owne countrey, oftentimes discomfiting their enemies in many set battels, burning and destroying some of their strongest townes. The chiefe reason whereof I take to bee, because no Indian nation was enemie unto them. And howsoever the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exployts in the Indies: yet doe their owne writings in effect testifie, that without the ayde of the Indians divided among themselves, Mexico, Peru, and the rest, had never beene Spanish.

Lastly. I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediatly to the divine providence: for by him princes raigne. And in my beleefe (except we will looke to bee warned by miracle from heaven) wee neede no further assurances, then wee already have to perswade our selves, that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodnesse, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserve this empire for us.

END OF VOLUME X.

1904
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